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Accusations of Teacher Sexual Abuse of Students in Ontario Schools: Some Preliminary Findings

Issues related to accusations of teacher sexual abuse of students seem to be among those subjects about which there is no lack of opinionated discussion, even though few of the "facts" on which the opinions are based are rooted in verifiable research. Reports in the media would appear to describe an epidemic of teacher sexual exploitation and assault of students in the public schools. On the other hand, teachers' federations claim that although accusations of sexual abuse may be on the increase, legitimate cases of teachers sexually exploiting or abusing students are relatively rare. The article that follows reports some preliminary results of attempts to establish baseline data concerning the prevalence of accusations, charges, and convictions, and suggests that much more data are needed before definitive conclusions should be drawn or meaningful recommendations can be made.

Les questions concernant les accusations d'abus sexuels commis par les enseignants et enseignantes dont les victimes sont les élèves semblent susciter de nombreuses discussions intransigeantes fondées sur très peu de faits provenant rarement de recherches vérifiables. Les reportages des médias semblent décrire une épidémie d'exploitation et d'agressions sexuelles commises par les enseignants et enseignantes envers les élèves dans des écoles publiques. Dautre part, les fédérations et les syndicats professionnels d'enseignants prétendent que les cas légitimes d'exploitations et d'abus sexuelles de la part des enseignants et enseignants envers les élèves sont relativement rares même si ces accusations semblent croître en nombre et en fréquences. L'article qui suit présente des résultats préliminaires de tentatives d'établir une ligne de base de données des fréquences de plaintes d'accusations, de condamnations d'abus, et d'exploitations sexuelles. L'article suggère qu'un plus grand nombre de données soient rassemblées afin de pouvoir en tirer des conclusions définitives et de proposer des recommandations significatives.

The Problem

TEACHER ACCUSED OF MOLESTING 11 GIRLS IN CLASS. (1991)
LESBIAN TEACHER ACCUSED OF SEX WITH STUDENTS. (1992)
CLEARED IN SEX CASE, TEACHER MAY QUIT JOB. (1987)
TORONTO TEACHER CLEARED IN SEXUAL ABUSE CASE. (1985)

These are but a few of many similar headlines that seem all too frequently to confront Canadian newspaper readers. To the average citizen headlines like these might well appear to describe an epidemic of teacher sexual exploitation and assault of the students entrusted to their care. On the other hand, teachers' federations claim that although accusations of sexual abuse may appear to be

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on the increase, legitimate cases of teachers sexually exploiting or abusing students are relatively rare.

Discrepancies of this magnitude raise some obvious questions. It would clearly be useful to know, for example, how many teachers are accused of sexually abusing students in a given jurisdiction in a given year, how many accused teachers are actually charged under the Criminal Code of Canada (1985) and how many are convicted. Given this information, one might be in a position, taking into account the size of the educational enterprise in Canada, to consider whether the numbers actually represent an "epidemic" of sexual abuse in schools. In addition, given that the consequences of an accusation of sexual abuse (whether substantiated or not) can be devastating for the teacher and for the teaching profession, it would be useful to know how many teachers are falsely accused of sexually abusing their students.[1]

One might have thought the answers to such questions would be fairly easy to discover. Surprisingly, at least to me, answers to these basic questions are not readily available. Indeed it would appear that issues related to accusations of teacher sexual abuse of students are among those subjects about which there is no lack of opinionated discussion, regardless of the fact that almost no one seems to have any basic data concerning the phenomenon or its implications. To further complicate matters, those who do have data are reluctant to share them.

One would expect that the academic literature would shed some light on these issues. The psychological and legal literature offers extensive debate on the question of the existence or nonexistence of a "false" or "repressed" memory syndrome related to child sexual abuse occurring in the distant past (Byrd, 1994; Gleaves, 1994; Gold, Hughes, & Hohnecker, 1994; Loftus, 1993, 1994; Olio, 1994; Peterson, 1994; Rabinovici, 1993; Shorten, 1994). There are some obvious similarities between the false long-term memories allegedly implanted by overzealous therapists such as those discussed by Loftus (1994) and the false short-term memories allegedly created in the minds of nursery school children by overzealous police officers and children's aid workers (Rabinowitz, 1993). However, few such reports relate to sexual abuse in public schools; thus the debate does little to address the issues raised in this article.

Anecdotal accounts such as those illustrated by the headlines cited at the beginning of this discussion appear with regularity in the popular press. American "educational trade magazines" (as opposed to academic journals) have run various articles attempting to define the problem (DeMitchell, 1981), advocating methods of screening teachers and potential teachers (Natale, 1993; Ross, 1985; Zakariya, 1988), warning school boards of their liability if they fail to protect students and employees from sexual harassment and abuse (Marczely, 1993), and describing the aftermath of false accusations (Wilson & Littleson, 1987).

Canadian teachers' federation publications have featured articles on the issues associated with the phenomenon ("Abuse: An Agonizing Issue," 1990; Cooney, Gardhouse, & Getty, 1988; Kendall, 1990; O'Connor, 1989; Stewart, 1989a, 1989b; Sundby, 1990; Ulrich, 1989). Most of these articles focus on how teachers can avoid situations in which they might be accused. Canadian teachers have been warned by their federations and others to exercise extreme care

when touching students, regardless of apparent justification (Polanyi, 1988; Stewart, 1989b; Yaworsky, 1992). Recently, Doctor (1994) described four types of sexual misconduct cases that occur in schools and identified two types of sexual offenders. She also recommends that Canadian faculties of education, provincial certification agencies, and school boards institute criminal background checks of applicants.

Almost all of the "data" cited in these articles are anecdotal or derived from anecdotal evidence, and thus do little to inform us concerning the actual incidence or accuracy of sexual abuse accusations against Canadian public schoolteachers.

Closer to the point, the *Report of the Committee on Sexual Offenses Against Children and Youths* (1984) indicated that one in two women and one in three men would suffer at least one unwanted sexual act in her or his life. Further, the report suggested that four out of five of these incidents would happen before the individual reached the age of 21 (Stewart, 1989a). However, the *Report* (1984, p. 217) also pointed out that studies of the relationship between child sexual assault victims and suspected assailants indicated that only 1 to 5.3% of assailants came from the "position of trust" category that included teachers as well as day care workers, doctors, social workers, school bus drivers, school crossing guards, Big Brother/Big Sister youth workers, ministers/priests/rabbis, camp counselors, dentists, and so forth. Teachers accounted for 10% of alleged assailants from the "position of trust" category (1984, p. 526). The Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services reported that in the five years between 1983 and 1988, registered child sexual abuse cases increased by 360% from 601 to 2,152 cases per year; however, charges were laid in less than half of these cases (Flavelle, 1988). Neither the number of eventual convictions nor the number of teachers allegedly involved was indicated. More recently, Trocmé, McPhee, Tam and Hay (1994) published the results of their study of reported child abuse and neglect in Ontario. They found that teachers were the alleged perpetrators of sexual abuse in 45 (.4%) of the 11,307 sexual abuse investigations they studied. None of these 45 accusations was substantiated following investigation (p. 69).[2]

"Teachers to Sue" (1988) stated that "the number of child-abuse charges against Ontario teachers increased to more than 80 during the past school year [1987-1988], from 18 in 1983." We have no way of knowing how many of these charges were eventually substantiated. Another newspaper article published earlier the same year (Teahen, 1988) stated that false accusations of student sexual abuse by teachers increased 20% over the same five-year period. With the exception of the *Report* (1984) and Trocmé et al. (1994), none of these data can be attributed to academic sources. Nevertheless, conclusions are being drawn and recommendations are being made. Obviously research that can provide insight into the answers to basic questions such as those outlined above is badly needed.

Method

It was with such basic questions in mind that a research design was developed to gather data concerning phenomena related to student accusations of teacher sexual abuse. Two strategies were used to gather data. The first strategy involved polling Ontario Teachers' Federation (OTF) Affiliates[3] concerning the

experience of their membership over a five-year period. The second strategy employed a questionnaire to gather data from a small sample of experienced Ontario administrators concerning their experience with the phenomenon over a five-year period. Both phases of the investigation and the data obtained are described in the following sections.

Study 1: Data Provided by OTF Affiliates

The first research strategy involved polling Ontario Teachers' Federation Affiliates. In 1991-1992 each of the five Affiliates was contacted by mail and asked to participate in a study that would address a number of questions related to accusations of teacher sexual abuse of students; specifically, each was asked (a) to provide data concerning actual numbers of teachers reporting accusations of sexual abuse in each of the most recent five school years, and (b) to provide information concerning the actual outcomes of the investigations that followed from these accusations (i.e., numbers of teachers charged, numbers convicted or acquitted, numbers of convictions or acquittals appealed, results of appeals, etc.). This design, although simple enough, encountered two significant obstacles.

First, federation officers pointed out that many, perhaps most, cases in which students accuse teachers of sexual abuse are dealt with at the local level. It would appear that unless investigation of the accusation suggests that further steps are necessary (e.g., police involvement or school board action), many such accusations are handled by the school's administration and local federation affiliate representatives without any formal federation involvement. Because the affiliates' central offices may or may not be officially notified concerning many of these incidents, they have no accurate records that can reveal how many such accusations occur. However, if a criminal charge is laid, the relevant affiliate is almost always asked to provide assistance to the accused teacher. Obviously the affiliates maintain records of their activities in this regard. Therefore, although it would not be possible to compile data concerning numbers of teachers accused of sexually abusing students, it would be possible to determine fairly accurately how many teachers were charged with sexually abusing students and the outcomes of these cases, assuming of course that the federations would be willing to share these data.

This leads directly to the second obstacle, which concerned the federation affiliates' sensitivity to the issue and their resulting reluctance to share data. Discussions with teacher welfare or counseling personnel and senior officers of the federation affiliates revealed that in the past some of the affiliates had shared sensitive information related to this topic with journalists who later used the data in what the affiliates considered to be an irresponsible manner. Even more unfortunate, officers of one of the affiliates indicated that they had released sensitive information to an academic researcher who then used the data selectively and, in the affiliate's opinion, inaccurately to support an argument he or she was proposing. Unfortunately, two of the five affiliates declined to participate in the study. Although the reasons were not explicitly articulated, it is probably reasonable to assume that these two affiliates were concerned that their willingness to share data might be exploited yet again. Fortunately, the other three affiliates did agree to participate.

Regrettably, the noninvolvement of two of the five affiliates eliminated for all practical purposes the establishment of baseline data concerning accusations of sexual abuse by teachers in the Ontario secondary school and the Ontario Catholic separate school contexts. On the other hand, the participation of the other three affiliates provided a fairly comprehensive data set for Ontario's public (i.e., publicly supported, non-Catholic) elementary schools.

Participating affiliates were asked to complete a data form (see Appendix A) designed to gather data related to five recent school years. The form provided a format in which the affiliates could report the numbers of accusations,[4] numbers of members against whom charges had been laid, legal outcomes, and disciplinary actions taken by federations, school boards, and the Ministry of Education.[5]

Study 1: Results

Two incidents involving secondary teachers were reported by one participating affiliate. Because other participating affiliates did not provide data concerning secondary teachers, these two incidents represented anomalies and, therefore, were not considered in the analysis. Membership numbers for the affiliate in question were adjusted so as to represent only elementary teachers. In addition, one of the affiliates did not report data for the 1987-1988 and 1988-1989 school years. This was taken into account in relevant calculations. Table 1 provides a school year by school year summary of the data reported by the participating affiliates.

As the data in Table 1 illustrate, there were 47 incidents in which teachers belonging to these affiliates were charged with sexually abusing students during the five school years for which data were reported. Only one of the 47 cases involved a female teacher. In two of the cases charges were withdrawn before the issue could be determined by the court. In seven of the remaining 45 cases, the outcome was yet to be determined at the time the data were reported. Of the remaining 38 cases 22 resulted in the accused teacher being acquitted and 16 resulted in the accused teacher being convicted of the charges.

In order to establish some sense of the frequency with which teachers were charged with sexual abuse of students during the years surveyed by the study, Table 2 relates the numbers of teachers charged to the numbers in the total population represented.

The ratios ranged from .15 teachers charged per 1,000 in 1991-1992 to .20 per 1,000 in 1990-1991. The mean ratio for all teachers over the five-year period was .17 teachers charged per 1,000 teachers.

Obviously, because male teachers represented nearly 98% of those charged, it can be argued that the ratios cited above are misleading. For this reason ratios of numbers charged to numbers of male teachers are also included in Table 2. If male teachers only are considered, both in terms of the total number of teachers and the numbers of teachers charged, the ratios ranged from .51 charged per 1,000 male teachers in 1991-1992 to .77 per 1,000 in 1990-1991. The mean ratio over the five-year period for males only was .61 male teachers charged per 1,000 male teachers.

Study 1: Discussion

It must be noted that although it is clear that the overwhelming majority of charges of sexual abuse are leveled against male teachers, it is far too simplistic to assume that gender-related conclusions can be drawn from these numbers. Male teachers are clearly more vulnerable to problems created by traditional social stereotypes. For example, behavior that is interpreted as nurturing and desirable (e.g., hugging a student who is upset, assisting a child into or out of a snowsuit, etc.) when a female teacher is involved can easily be misinterpreted as having a sexual intent when the teacher is male.

Table 1
School Year by School Year Summary of Data Provided by Participating Federation Affiliates

School Year	*Total Number of Elementary Teachers in Affiliates Reporting*	*Number of Teachers Charged With Sexual Abuse*	*Sex of Teachers Charged*	*Legal Outcomes*	*Board Action*	*Ministry Action*
1987-1988[1]	47,639	8	8 Male	2 Acquitted 5 Convicted 1 Ongoing	2 Reinstated 1 Resigned 4 Terminated 1 No Action	5 Cancel Certificate 3 No Action
1988-1989[1]	50,045	9	9 Male	5 Acquitted 4 Convicted	4 Reinstated 3 Terminated 1 No Action 1 On Hold	2 Cancel Certificate 5 No Action 2 On Hold
1989-1990	57,050	9	9 Male	7 Acquitted 2 Convicted	5 Reinstated 1 Retired 1 Terminated 2 No Action	2 No Action 1 Not Reported
1990-1991	59,533	12	12 Male	6 Acquitted 1 Withdrawn 3 Convicted 2 Ongoing	6 Reinstated 1 Resigned 1 Retired 1 Suspended 1 Terminated 2 On Hold	1 Cancel Certificate 2 On Hold 9 No Action
1991-1992	61,299	9	8 Male 1 Female	2 Acquitted 1 Withdrawn 2 Convicted 4 Ongoing	3 Reinstated 1 Terminated 5 On Hold	6 On Hold 3 No Action
Totals	282,335	47	46 Male 1 Female	22 Acquitted 2 Withdrawn 16 Convicted 7 Ongoing	20 Reinstated 2 Resigned 2 Retired 1 Suspended 10 Terminated 4 No Action 8 On Hold	8 Cancel Certificate 28 No Action 10 On Hold 1 Not Reported

[1]One of the affiliates did not report data for the 1987-1988 and 1988-1989 school years.
Source: Affiliates of the Ontario Teachers' Federation.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics Derived from School Year by School Year Summary of Data Reported by Participating Federation Affiliates

School Year	*Numbers Charged per 1,000 Teachers*	*Numbers Charged Per 1,000 Male Teachers*	*Known Legal Outcomes Expressed as a Percentage of Total Charged*
1987-1988	.17	.56	25% Acquitted 62.5% Convicted 12.5% Ongoing
1988-1989	.18	.63	55% Acquitted 45% Convicted
1989-1990	.16	.59	77% Acquitted 33% Convicted
1990-1991	.20	.77	50% Acquitted 8.3% Withdrawn 25% Convicted 16.6% Ongoing
1991-1992	.15	.51	22% Acquitted 11% Withdrawn 22% Convicted 44% Ongoing
Totals	.17	.61	47.8% Acquitted 4.8% Withdrawn 38.1% Convicted 16.6% Ongoing

Source: Affiliates of the Ontario Teachers' Federation.

Two conclusions can be reasonably drawn from these data. First, when viewed in the context of the entire Ontario public elementary school enterprise, few teachers are charged with sexually abusing students. Second, if one assumes that in Ontario individuals are not charged with serious criminal offenses such as sexual assault unless attorneys representing the crown have a reasonably strong expectation that the accused will be convicted, the withdrawal/acquittal rate for teachers who are charged appears to be high (in the area of 60%).

Unfortunately, the data in Tables 1 and 2 are insufficient to support any other conclusions or hypotheses. It is clear that the determination of any significant patterns (e.g., in grade levels taught by teachers charged, changes in frequency of charges over time, etc.), will require longitudinal data from a larger data base.

Study 2: Data Provided by Experienced Principals and Vice-Principals

In order to address the problem identified as the first obstacle in the original research design (i.e., federations had no reliable records of the numbers of accusations because many of these were handled informally at the school level), a second data gathering strategy was developed. This design involved polling experienced school administrators attending the annual Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation (OPSTF) Leadership Academy. An instrument

was designed for this purpose and was piloted at the 1993 Academy. Improvements suggested by results of the pilot study were incorporated into the instrument (see Appendix B), which was then used to gather data at the 1994 Academy.

The 1994 OPSTF Leadership Academy was attended by 33 experienced elementary vice-principals and principals representing 22 Ontario public school districts. Although OPSTF nominally represented male elementary teachers in Ontario's public schools,[6] roughly one fifth of the participants were female.[7] It should be noted that the group of principals and vice-principals attending the OPSTF Leadership Academy did not represent a random sample of the population of Ontario elementary school administrators. This group represented a convenience sample that was chosen specifically because its members were experienced elementary school administrators from a wide range of Ontario school districts.

These principals and vice-principals were asked to provide descriptive data concerning the schools for which they had been responsible for each of the past five complete school years (see Appendix B). In addition, each was asked to indicate if any teacher(s) on his or her staff had been accused of sexually abusing a student in any of these years. If any such incidents were identified, the administrator was asked to provide specific information concerning each such incident on a separate form (see Appendix C). These forms permitted respondents to provide detailed information concerning the accusation and its aftermath (i.e., charges laid, legal outcome, federation disciplinary action, school board disciplinary action, and Ministry of Education disciplinary action). Thirty-one respondents completed questionnaires.

Study 2: Results

Data supplied by these administrators provided an overview of 143 school-years.[8] Table 3 provides descriptive data concerning the grade levels of the elementary schools represented in the questionnaire responses.

Table 3
Grade Levels of Elementary School Years Represented in the Leadership Academy Sample

Grade Levels of Schools Represented in the Sample	*Number of School Years Represented*
Junior Kindergarten to grade 5	15
Junior Kindergarten to grade 6	16
Junior Kindergarten to grade 8	65
Kindergarten to grade 6	6
Kindergarten to grade 8	14
Grade 3 to grade 8	4
Grade 4 to grade 8	10
Grade 6 to grade 8	9
Grade 7 to grade 8	4
Total	143

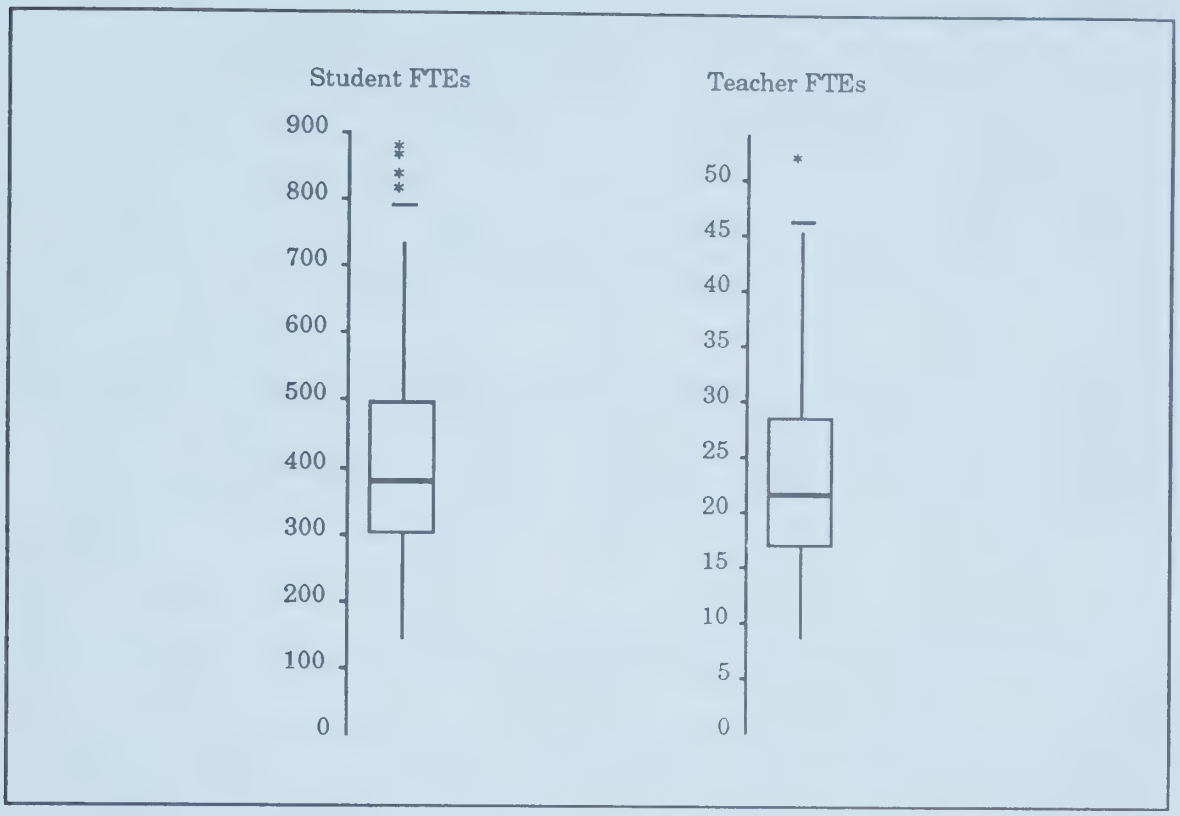

Figure 1. Box and whisker plots of teacher and student FTEs in schools represented in the Leadership Academy sample.

Staff sizes in the schools represented varied from a minimum of nine to a maximum of 52 with a mean of 24. Student populations varied from 145 to 863 with a mean of 405. Although the school sizes tended to represent a fairly normal distribution, most were clustered around the mean (as indicated by the box and whisker plots of teacher and student FTEs (full-time equivalents) in Figure 1. Only the largest of these elementary schools (student populations over 800) appear as outliers.

Table 4 contains the descriptive data provided by respondents by school year. Approximately 71% of the schools represented in the data reported for each school year were predominantly urban (i.e., at least 60% of the student body was urban), and 27% were primarily rural. Only 2% were described as having a student population evenly divided between students from urban and rural homes.

Obviously it was hoped that relationships would emerge that might link accusations of sexual abuse to school size, urban or rural environment, grade levels, and so forth, or that temporal patterns might become apparent (e.g., evidence that numbers of accusations, charges, or convictions are increasing or decreasing over time). However, no such relationships or patterns could be identified because in data related to 143 school years only four accusation incidents were reported. Table 5 lists by year the numbers of teachers accused and the ratio of the number accused to the number of teachers in the sample in each year.[9]

In two of the five academic years for which data were reported (1989-1990 and 1992-1993), none of the teachers in these schools was accused. During the 1991-1992 academic year two teachers were accused. One teacher was accused

Table 4
Descriptive Data Provided by Experienced Administrators in the Leadership Academy Sample, by School Year

School Year	Number of School Years Represented	Total Number of Teachers	Total Number of Students	Mainly Urban	Mainly Rural	Evenly Split Urban and Rural
1988-1989	24	545.5	9,561	17 (71%)	7 (29%)	0
1989-1990	28	676	11,313	19 (68%)	9 (32%)	0
1990-1991	29	696.8	11,471	21 (72.4%)	7 (24.1%)	1 (3.5%)
1991-1992	31	772.8	12,843	22 (71%)	8 (25.8%)	1 (3.2%)
1992-1993	31	736.8	12,692	22 (71%)	8 (25.8%)	1 (3.2%)
Totals	143	3,427.9	57,880	101 (70.6%)	39 (27.3%)	3 (2.1%)

in each of 1988-1989 and 1990-1991. Details of the incidents reported are outlined below.

1. During the 1988-1989 school year, a junior level (grades 4 to 6) student attending an average sized JK to 8 elementary school claimed a male teacher had touched her breast. The police were called and following their investigation advised that there was "insufficient evidence to charge" the teacher. Without implying the guilt of the teacher, the school administration, for the protection of everyone involved, modified the teacher's assignment in order to ensure that he would not be placed in a position where he would be required to work with small groups of students. No charges were laid and no disciplinary actions were taken.
2. During the 1990-1991 school year an 18-year-old senior level (grades 10 to OAC) student, obviously from a high school in the school system, claimed to have been sexually abused by a male teacher on the staff of a small, urban middle school (grades 6 to 8). Following administration interviews with the

Table 5
Numbers Accused and Ratio of Number Accused to Number of Teachers in the Sample, From Data Provided by Experienced Administrators in the Leadership Academy Sample, by School Year

School-Year	Numbers Accused	Numbers Accused Per 1,000 Teachers in the Sample	Numbers Charged
1988-1989	1	1.83	0
1989-1990	0	0	0
1990-1991	1	1.44	0
1991-1992	2	2.59	0
1992-1993	0	0	0
Totals	4	1.17	0

teacher and the student, the matter was dropped; no charges were laid and no disciplinary actions were taken.

3. During the 1991-1992 school year an intermediate level (grades 7 to 9) student attending a large, urban middle school claimed a male teacher was "continually coming around behind them [students] and touching their behind[s]." The student's parents were consulted and, after discussion with the school administration, agreed that the accusation was "unconfirmed." Once again, the matter was dropped; no charges were laid, no disciplinary actions were taken.
4. In the same year a junior level (grades 4 to 6) student attending an average size, predominantly urban school reported that a male teacher was involved in "inappropriate touching." The student later "admitted to making up the story." Obviously, no charges were laid and no disciplinary action was taken.

Study 2: Discussion

Only four incidents, none of which resulted in a charge being laid, were reported in the course of 143 recent school years. Clearly, although some basic ratios can be pointed out (e.g., on average, over the five year period, 1.17 teachers per 1000 were accused), no definitive relationships or patterns can be postulated on the basis of this data.

Summary Discussion

Although it is obviously impossible to draw many conclusions based on the results of the two investigations reported here, it is probably not inappropriate to suggest a few tentative observations that should be examined more closely.

1. Although it is self-evident that even one incident of sexual abuse by a teacher is one too many and represents a legitimate cause for concern and action, the data gathered thus far would suggest that the actual numbers of accusations, charges, and convictions are small given the numbers of individuals involved in the public school systems.
2. The acquittal rate for teachers appears to be far in excess of what common sense would suggest would be reasonable. The exceptionally high acquittal rate suggests problems may exist that are specific to this type of charge and/or to the teaching profession.[10] Further investigation is required.
3. In 1988 the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Association reported that, among their membership, "spurious allegations of sexual assault.... have increased by 20 to 30 over the last five years" ("Teachers to fight," 1988, p. A4). The data from this study were insufficient to justify a similar conclusion relative to public elementary school teachers in Ontario. Analysis of a larger, more inclusive data set is needed. Nevertheless, it is clear that a number of teachers are falsely accused each year.

A larger, more inclusive research effort will be required before any more conclusive statements can be made concerning this phenomenon. However, the eventual success of such a research endeavor would not only be dependent on securing sufficient resources to do the job properly, but would also be directly proportional to the level of cooperation and commitment available from teachers' federations in all provinces. As the difficulties described in this study have shown, this level of cooperation is not always forthcoming.

Teachers Falsely Accused

It is not possible to determine from the data gathered in the studies described above precisely how many teachers are falsely accused of sexually abusing students. What is clear is that a significant number of false accusations occur each year. Given the serious personal and professional repercussions of such an accusation, this phenomenon clearly does represent a serious problem and also requires further investigation (Dolmage, 1995).

Conclusion

In March 1994 a professor (O'Neill) from the School of Organization and Management at Yale published an article in the *New York Times Magazine* that exploded the myth of the oft published and quoted lists comparing the most serious problems plaguing American schools in the 1940s (i.e., talking, chewing gum, making noise, running in the hall, getting out of turn in line, wearing improper clothing, and not putting paper in wastebaskets) with those of the 1980s (i.e., drug abuse, alcohol abuse, pregnancy, suicide, rape, robbery, and assault). Variations of these lists appeared on the CBS News, in *Harper's, Newsweek, The Wall Street Journal*, and *Time Magazine*; indeed, the *New York Times* published variations of the lists on five occasions. What O'Neill discovered was that these lists had no empirical basis whatsoever. Although the 1940s list may have been based on some relatively informal surveys of Texas teachers' opinions, the 1980s list was the creation of T. Cullen Davis, "a fundamentalist Christian who devised the lists as an attack on public schools" (O'Neill, 1994, p. 47). When asked for the source of his data, Davis replied, "How do I know what the offenses in the schools were in 1940? I was there. How do I know what they are now? I read the newspapers" (p. 48).

These lists were cited as data to support arguments at the highest levels of American educational policy making. They were quoted by "senators, mayors, state education officials, university professors, deans," a Surgeon General nominee, and even a former Secretary of Education (O'Neill, 1994, p. 48). Nevertheless, even though they had no basis in research, no one until O'Neill questioned their veracity.

What is most worrisome about the current discussions of teacher sexual abuse of students is that a folklore analogous to that cited above may be developing not only in the minds of the public, but also in the minds of Canadian educational commentators and policy makers who "know" the facts because, like Davis, they "read the newspapers." On the basis of anecdotal evidence the question of whether men should be encouraged to become primary teachers, or should be discouraged from working with young children at all, is being debated (Skelton, 1994). Intrusive searches of the backgrounds of prospective teachers have been recommended (Doctor, 1994). Perhaps this is only as it should be. There may be a serious problem in Canadian schools; there may be a need to institute intrusive teacher screening and supervision procedures in order to protect innocent children. On the other hand, there may also be a need to institute procedures to protect innocent teachers from character assassination. The point is we should know what we are talking about before we advocate significant public policy initiatives, particularly concerning significant and highly sensitive issues.

Defensible data would provide much more than a baseline from which to design further research to study the issues related to accusations of sexual abuse by teachers; such data could also be useful in more practical and immediate ways. Accurate data could, for example, provide both preservice and inservice teacher educators with more persuasive arguments concerning prudent practice for teachers facing the realities of the classroom in the '90s and beyond. Some hard facts might also encourage parents and trustees to adopt a reasoned, and perhaps less visceral, response to alleged cases of sexual abuse in the schools.

A credible source of data on the phenomenon should also force external agencies to adopt more responsible approaches to the problems associated with such accusations. The media, for example, might be persuaded to adopt a more conservative approach to the reporting of cases of alleged sexual abuse in the schools. Police officers and children's aid society workers might be forced to conduct thorough, comprehensive inquiries and to employ objective interview techniques in their investigations of cases of alleged sexual abuse in the schools. The courts might be urged to adopt a realistic, objective perspective when evaluating the reliability of evidence provided by child witnesses.

Should the data indicate that significant numbers of teachers are being charged with sexual abuse-related offenses and that a significant percentage of those charged are being found guilty, this would provide a powerful argument for the use of more stringent, and perhaps intrusive, screening procedures by teacher training institutions, certification agencies, and employing school boards.

On the other hand, should the data indicate that significant numbers of innocent teachers are being charged with sexual abuse-related offenses, such data would provide a powerful argument for the development of legal mechanisms to protect the personal and professional reputations of teachers who are falsely accused.

The problem is, of course, that at this point we have little more than opinions on which to base decisions concerning which of the above arguments we should pursue, if any.

Teachers' associations are clearly in the best position to provide the kinds of raw data that are needed if we are to develop meaningful responses to the fundamental questions this study has only begun to address; indeed, teachers' federations and associations probably already have the necessary records from which such data could be extracted. Teachers' organizations are not, however, ideally situated when it comes to the actual collection, synthesis, and analysis of these data, or the dissemination of the findings that result. Actual objectivity notwithstanding, they will always be seen as having a vested interest in the protection of their members and of the profession. Ideally, if the findings of such research are to be viewed as credible, this project will have to be a comprehensive, cooperative effort between academics and teachers' organizations. In the end, whether this can be done may depend entirely on the level of trust that can be established between these two groups.

The alternative is to allow the media to define the "reality" of this phenomenon for the public and for educational policy makers. Unfortunately, the media for the most part are simply businesses with advertising to sell and

shareholders to satisfy. They are inevitably attracted to the sensational and uninterested in the routine. As Ainsworth (1994) put it, "Good things happen in schools every day. It's not news" (p. 19); such a perspective cannot help but create a distorted view of what is really happening in Canadian schools. Policy based on such a distortion is unlikely to provide protection for innocent students or innocent teachers.

Notes

1. I have addressed the issues relating to false accusations in some detail elsewhere (Dolmage, 1995).
2. It is interesting to note that schools were the largest single source of referrals relating to child abuse and/or neglect and that school referrals had a higher than average substantiation rate. (Trocmé et al., 1994, pp. 102-103).
3. The Ontario Teachers' Federation is an umbrella organization that is composed of five largely independent affiliates.
   a. The Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO, 1993-1994 membership of 41,800) that traditionally (see note 7 below) represents female elementary teachers in the public (i.e., non-Catholic) schools;
   b. The Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF, 1993-1994 membership of 38,900) that represents secondary teachers in the public (i.e., non-Catholic) secondary schools;
   c. The Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation (OPSTF, 1993-1994 membership of 14,500) that traditionally (see note 7 below) represents male elementary teachers in the public (i.e., non-Catholic) schools;
   d. Association des enseignantes et enseignants franco-ontariens (AEFO, 1993-1994 membership of 6,700) that represents teachers in French first-language schools; and
   e. Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association (OECTA, 1993-1994 membership of 32,200) that represents teachers in Catholic English first-language schools.
4. This proved to be an inappropriate question; see discussion above.
5. Now the Ministry of Education and Training.
6. Women could be associate members of the OPSTF, even prior to the Tomen decision (see note 7).
7. On March 31, 1994 the Ontario Human Rights Commission found that the compulsory allocation of teachers to particular affiliates on the basis of sex violated the Ontario Human Rights Code (the Tomen case). It would appear, therefore, that gender based federation affiliates will no longer be permitted in Ontario.
8. Ideally, data describing 155 school-years would have resulted (31 x 5). However, several of the administrators had worked in district central offices during the period. In addition, several had worked in secondary schools during one or more of these years; data from these years were not included in this analysis.
9. When making comparisons between the finding of Study 1 and Study 2, it is important to remember that in Study 1 federation affiliates reported numbers of teachers charged, whereas in Study 2 administrators reported numbers of teachers accused.
10. It would, of course, be helpful, and would give this point added relevance, if we could compare the acquittal rate for teachers with that of persons in other professions, or even with the acquittal rate for the overall population of persons charged with similar offenses. Unfortunately, such data are not readily available.

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Federation Affiliate: _____ For School Year: 198___- 19_____ Page: ____

Teachers Accused of Sexually Abusing Students:

Ontario Teachers' Federation Affiliates Report Form

Case #	Teaching Level	Male/ Female	Interim Action by School Board	Charges Laid	Final Legal Outcome [Conviction/Acquittal/ Appeals]	Federation Disciplinary Action Taken	Final Action by School Board	Action by Ministry

Appendix B
Questionnaire for Administrators

Principal ID Number: _____

School Identification

Because a given Principal may have been assigned to more than one school during the past five years and because the demographics of a particular school may change significantly from year to year, space has been provided for data relating to five schools.

1988-89 School School ID: 1

Grade Levels offered in the School (underline as appropriate):

JK K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 OAC

Number of Teachers (FTEs): _____ Number of Students (FTEs): _____

Makeup of Student Body: % Urban.. _____ % Rural _____

1989-90 School [As Above (circle if appropriate)] School ID: 2

Grade Levels offered in the School (underline as appropriate):

JK K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 OAC

Number of Teachers (FTEs): _____ Number of Students (FTEs): _____

Makeup of Student Body: % Urban.. _____ % Rural _____

1990-91 School [As Above (circle if appropriate)] School ID: 3

Grade Levels offered in the School (underline as appropriate):

JK K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 OAC

Number of Teachers (FTEs): _____ Number of Students (FTEs): _____

Makeup of Student Body: % Urban.. _____ % Rural _____

1991-92 School [As Above (circle if appropriate)] School ID: 4

Grade Levels offered in the School (underline as appropriate):

JK K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 OAC

Number of Teachers (FTEs): _____ Number of Students (FTEs) _____

Makeup of Student Body: % Urban.. _____ % Rural _____

1992-93 School [As Above (circle if appropriate)] School ID: 5

Grade Levels offered in the School (underline as appropriate):

JK K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 OAC

Number of Teachers (FTEs): _____ Number of Students (FTEs) _____

Makeup of Student Body: % Urban.. _____ % Rural _____

Please indicate if any teacher or teachers on your staff was/were accused of sexually abusing a student or students in each of the past five school years.

School Year	Number of Teachers Accused
1988-1989	_____
1989-1990	_____
1990-1991	_____
1991-1992	_____
1992-1993	_____

Please fill out an "Accusation Data Form" for each accusation incident (a single form is appended: additional forms are available as required).

Appendix C
Accusation Data Form

ACCUSATION DATA FORM

Principal Identification Number: School Year: _____ Case # _____

Sex of Teacher (please circle): Male Female

Grade Level of the Student(s) (please circle): Primary Junior Intermediate Senior

Nature of the Accusation(s): _____

_____

Interim Action By School Board (if any): _____

_____

Charges Laid (if any): _____

_____

Did the Accused Teacher Confess and/or Plead Guilty to the Charges (please circle)? Yes No

If Yes, Please Circle as Appropriate: Confessed Pleaded Guilty

Legal Outcome (please circle):

Conviction Conviction Upheld On Appeal Conviction Reversed On Appeal Conviction Under Appeal

Acquittal Acquittal Upheld On Appeal Acquittal Reversed On Appeal Acquittal Under Appeal

Comments Concerning the Legal Outcome (optional): _____

_____

_____

If Charges Were Not Laid, Please Explain Why This Was The Case: _____

_____

_____

Federation Disciplinary Action (if any): _____

_____

Final Board Action (if any): _____

_____

Ministry Disciplinary Action (if any): _____

_____

Comments Concerning Federation Disciplinary Action, Final Board Action or Ministry Disciplinary Action (optional): _____

_____

_____

Any Additional Comments? (Please use back of sheet if additional space is required)

_____

_____

_____

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Teacher Perceptions Across Cultures: The Impact of Students on Teacher Enthusiasm and Discouragement in a Cross-cultural Context

The purpose of this research was to document teacher responses relating to elements of their professional job enthusiasm and discouragement. Specifically, the study comprised secondary school teachers from seven nations involved in a cross-cultural research study initiated through the auspices of the Consortium for Cross-Cultural Research in Education (CCCRE), located at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Teachers were first asked questions relating to sources of enthusiasm and discouragement in their professional lives. Through an inductive process their responses were categorized (clustered) into five major groupings, one of which was Students and Learning. Only data analyzed from this student cluster are reported in this article. Results indicate a consistency of response across all countries studied relative to the student and learning cluster. Specifically, respondents cite students as a primary factor associated with both professional enthusiasm and discouragement in an overwhelming statistical comparison. After responses were clustered into the five major headings, the student section accounted for over 50% of all responses associated with elements that create enthusiasm for teachers, although on the discouragement side 25% of responses were clustered in this category. In addition, among other major findings it appears that respondents do not consider student academic achievement as an important element in teacher enthusiasm across a majority of the cultures studied in this research. However, teachers do associate professional discouragement with students who exhibit low motivation while in the classroom. Finally, Japanese teacher responses are unique in two respects: first, they identify two-way communication problems as a prime source of discouragement; and second, the results appear to indicate that Japanese teachers believe that negative student behaviors and attitudes are less prevalent in their classrooms, resulting in lower scores in this category for the Japanese when compared with their counterparts from other countries.

Le but de cette recherche était de documenter les réponses des enseignants et des enseignantes en ce qui a trait aux éléments générateurs des sentiments d'enthousiasme et de découragement dans leur travail professionnel. Plus spécifiquement, cette étude a été basée sur des renseignements relevés des enseignants et des enseignantes d'écoles secondaires deuxième cycle de sept différentes nations qui ont participé à une recherche interculturelle initiée sous l'égide du Consortium des recherches interculturelles en pédagogie (CRIP)/Consortium for Cross-Cultural Research in Education (CCCRE) situé à l'Université de Michigan à Ann Arbor. Tout d'abord, on questionna les enseignants et les enseignantes au sujet des raisons qui engendraient l'enthousiasme et les sentiments de découragement dans leurs vies professionnelles. On a pu catégoriser et agglutiner les données inhérentes à leurs réactions par l'entremise d'un processus inductif selon cinq groupes majeurs, dont un sintitulait Élève et apprentissage. Cet article ne rapporte que les données analysées des élèves appartenant à ce dernier groupe. Les résultats indiquent qu'il y existe une consistance de réactions parmi tous les enseignants et enseignantes des pays étudiés en ce qui concerne les élèves et l'apprentissage. En raison des statistiques abondants provenants de l'étude comparative, les répondants et les répondantes citent plus spécifiquement les élèves comme étant un facteur primaire

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associé aux sentiments d'enthousiasme et de découragement professionnels. Après avoir rassemblé et d'agglutiné les réponses des enseignants et des enseignantes sous cinq en-têtes majeures, la section traitants des élèves comptait pour plus de 50% de toutes les réponses associées avec les causes qui engendraient l'enthousiasme chez les enseignants et les enseignantes tandis que le découragement ne représentait que 25% des réponses rassemblées dans cette catégorie. De plus, la recherche démontre qu'il semblerait que les répondants et les répondantes ne considèrent pas le succès académique des étudiants et des étudiantes comme étant un élément important qui engendrerait l'enthousiasme chez les enseignants et les enseignantes parmi la majorité des cultures étudiées. Cependant, les enseignants et les enseignantes ont certainement associé le découragement professionnel aux élèves qui démontrent peu de motivation en salle de classe. Enfin, au Japon, les réponses des enseignants et des enseignantes sont uniques de deux façons: D'abord, ils identifient les problèmes de communication à double voies entre l'enseignant(e) et l'élève comme étant une source primaire de découragement; et deuxièmement, les résultats semblent indiquer que les enseignants et les enseignantes du Japon croient que les comportements négatifs des élèves et leurs attitudes sont moins fréquents dans leurs salles de classe que dans d'autres pays. Ceci produit des scores plus bas dans cette catégorie pour le Japon comparé aux scores de leurs homologues de d'autres pays.

Introduction

The research as represented through this study is one portion of a larger project that compares sources of professional enthusiasm and discouragement for secondary school teachers in selected countries across a broad range of parameters. The study was conducted by the Michigan group associated with the Consortium for Cross-Cultural Research in Education (CCCRE). Presently 16 member nations are represented by the Consortium, of which seven have data submitted for this research including the United States of America (the State of Michigan, a four-county geographic range); England (the counties of South Yorkshire and Derbyshire); Germany (the state of Hessen); Japan (Chugoku and Kinki districts); Singapore (multiple districts throughout the city-state); Canada (school districts from the southwestern portion of Ontario); and Poland (sections of Warsaw proper). The CCCRE was initially established and based jointly in the University of Sheffield (England) and the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) in 1978. Member nations have research teams located at various university centers in their respective countries and have been engaged in conducting research on common issues of teaching and schooling with small grants from government agencies, private foundations, as well as from their respective universities. The purpose of the Consortium is to generate basic behavioral science knowledge, applied knowledge about the nature of teaching and schooling, and policy and practice recommendations for the improvement of education within and between the cultural settings involved (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1989). The study reported here continues the research traditions of the CCCRE through reporting findings of a cross-cultural study involving the seven consortium member nations described above.

Purpose

Many individuals in the field of education encourage research that centers on various aspects of teaching practices, responsibilities, and climate that inevitably have an impact on student learning (Cross, 1987). Teacher perceptions with regard to students and student learning in a given teaching environment are one potentially fertile area of investigation as it relates to one's enthusiasm or discouragement regarding professional work. The teachers who par-

ticipated in this research have provided this type of information as a function of the purpose for the study.

To this end, the purpose for the research described here was to collect, compare, and analyze teacher perceptions specific to students and student learning vis-à-vis work enthusiasm and discouragement. In addition, the teacher perceptions investigated have been gathered in a cross-cultural context such that comparisons across and between cultures can be made.

Background

Enthusiasm and discouragement in school settings are important sources of influence on the work life of teachers. Collins (1976) and Cruikshank (1980) state that there is sufficient evidence of a strong, positive relationship between teacher enthusiasm and student achievement and that attentiveness to instruction increases when teachers presenting content possess enthusiasm. In comparison, discouragement has a strong negative influence on teachers and teaching. Blase (1986) points out that teacher stress is closely related to student discipline problems. Stress can become a source of discouragement for teachers that results in emotional and physical fatigue and a reduction in work motivation, involvement, and satisfaction. The larger CCCRE research project examined these issues within a comparative framework given a cross-cultural context.

It is important to describe the need for and validity of cross-cultural investigation and research in the educational community. As Judge (1988) states:

> Public perceptions of teachers and of their place in society vary between one country and another. A study of such variations is likely to generate new insights into social attitudes, not simply to teachers but also to education itself and to the values it embodies. (p. 143)

Kohn (1987) notes that without the benefit of cross-cultural or cross-national comparisons one cannot be certain that the information taken from single-nation studies is not simply the product of cultural or perhaps historical peculiarities specific to that particular country. This is an important concept and is particularly germane given the context of this study.

Recommendations generated through cross-cultural study are more apt to possess a broader, more global base versus similar findings extracted from a unicultural perspective. The value of cross-cultural research is summarized by Raivola (1985) who noted that this kind of study can prove invaluable as a frame of reference in comparative ventures, providing specific factors of education existing in one culture or environment that might not be prevalent in another. Some researchers believe that findings of similarities or differences evidenced in teachers between cultures can serve as catalysts for recommending effective change within a unicultural boundary (Purves, 1989; Triandis, 1978). They believe that there may be particular aspects of teaching (in this instance, in the realm of the secondary school teacher) that can be taken as universal and consistent around the world. Others such as Menlo and Poppleton (1990) argue that meaning without a cultural or social reference is incomplete, so information taken from such research out of context could be of little use. These poignant criticisms of the complexities that can arise from cross-cultural research should lead those involved in such studies to analyze

carefully how they choose to analyze and report their data before providing recommendations and/or commentary.

Methods

Organization of Data

Data used in this study were organized into five broad thematic cluster categories based on a system developed by the Michigan team affiliated with the CCCRE. These clusters were arrived at through thematic analysis done by an inductive process that allows for the creation of large categories (or clusters). Several studies to date have employed this categorization system with relative success (Evers, 1987; Marich, 1991; Menlo, Marich, Evers, & Fernandez, 1986). Responses were analyzed thematically by the five researchers involved in the collection of data and put into clusters that were distinctly alike. This process was initially conducted with each person separate, or blind, from the other researchers in order to determine what major cluster groups should be used. This analysis allowed for the development of several large categories. Once the researchers reassembled to discuss their individual thoughts and results, it became apparent that several major cluster groupings had evolved, including Students and Learning, Teachers and Teaching, Administrators and Administration, Work Conditions, and Parents and Community. These five clusters were eventually agreed on by the researchers as categories that would envelope the majority of responses generated through the study. The clusters (or cluster "trees") that were developed also consist of stems that act as major categories, with the attached branches serving as possible subcategory areas. Following this process, responses were reviewed in each major cluster and again sorted on the basis of alikeness in order to create the branches or subcategories. The five researchers read the responses and subsequently agreed on the classification of the responses for subcategorization. These subcategories were then assigned descriptive headings such as student enthusiasm and responsiveness, working and sharing with colleagues, and so forth. This classification procedure follows the principles outlined for the protection of emic distinctions in each culture, yet derives etic categories that accommodate distinctions (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973; Price-Williams, 1975). This implies that the teachers sampled in this study belong on a macro level to a broader group of people, namely, the world's secondary school teachers. This macro-world classification represents what Brislin (1986) called "the phenomenon, or aspects of it, which has common meanings across cultures under investigation" (p. 142). Countries can be compared on items that contribute to their shared (etic) aspects. However, when addressing differences in findings, careful attention should be given to possible historical, cultural, or political conditions not assessed that could skew or vary results. These differences might reflect distinct characteristics of a nation that might require more in-depth examination of the micro world that follows the emic tradition (Fernandez, 1991). Emic aspects of phenomena under investigation are said to be what is different and distinctive of each culture (Brislin, 1986). For the purposes of this study, only the information generated specific to Students and Learning is reported.

Participant Information

The teacher samples were self-selected as participants across all countries volunteered their time to engage in the interview protocol. Though voluntary by nature, this particular sample of secondary teachers does appear to reflect a broad cross-section of teachers in the educational environments investigated. And, although this methodology might not necessarily reflect a conventional construct in other research areas such as the natural sciences, it does allow for a practical and meaningful investigation of educator opinion and insight.

Interview Procedures and Data Collection

Many problems await the researcher who engages in research conducted in a foreign country. Besides the obvious considerations of language and local customs, there were also problems concerning available local assistance and the time frame provided for data collection. Given these types of issues a format was used that was deemed acceptable for all affected.

To appreciate more fully the nature of the research currently in progress (and the broad research questions investigated) a description is provided of the interview procedures and data gathering protocols unique to this study. A group inclusive, face-to-face format was employed where an open-ended process could be used. It was hoped that the information gathered would reflect reality as perceived and described by teachers for teachers, and a face-to-face protocol was deemed effective in this effort. Research questions were chosen over hypotheses to allow more flexibility on the part of respondents when providing answers. The resultant theme analysis is a common and broad technique often seen in the literature (Lortie, 1975).

Member countries associated with CCCRE research agreed on a consistent interview protocol from the outset of this study. Each group of researchers using this protocol attempted to conduct similarly structured interview sessions so that the teachers interviewed would experience a process as close to identical as possible. Interviews occurred with groups ranging from two to 16 teachers who participated in their own schools in a process that averaged approximately two hours in duration. Members of boards of education as well as school administrators cooperated with the research teams in scheduling interviews that took place during school hours. The teachers were initially given an explanation and description of the broad objectives for the research project and were then asked to consider their teaching experiences in the profession. A group facilitator (someone trained and familiar with questioning protocol) conducted semistructured, open-ended interviews. Each interview consisted of three main sections that all teachers were asked to participate in. During the initial portion of all interviews teachers were prompted to respond to the first broad question, namely, "What do you think are the things that generally 'turn teachers on' or could be described as sources of enthusiasm for teaching?" An assistant to the facilitator recorded all responses on a large piece of newsprint in full view of the participants. The information recorded was written verbatim with individual responses numbered for easy identification during computer coding at a later date. The facilitator was trained to probe for meaning and clarity if a teacher's response lacked specificity. Once the list was completed the facilitator then moved on to the second question and asked, "Looking at the list of responses generated, what two items from the list

personally 'turn you on' the most? Indicate the item number and description on the 5" x 7" index cards that are provided." Once this task was completed, the facilitator followed up with a third question asking why these two particular items selected "turned them on" so much. This concluded the first section of interview protocol.

The second part of the interview began with the corollary of the first set of questions. Specifically, teachers were asked what were the things that generally "turned teachers off" or could be described as sources of discouragement for teachers. The protocol was then repeated from the first interview section as information was gathered, clarified, and recorded on another sheet of newsprint. Having completed this task, the facilitator then asked teachers to again choose the two items that personally "turned them off" the most, and the teachers were similarly instructed to copy these responses on another index card as done in the first round of questions. Teachers were then asked as a final task to explain why these two items turned them off the most (question 3). This question finished the second section of the interview protocol.

In the third and concluding part of the interview, the facilitator pointed to all the answers generated on the various pieces of newsprint, both turn-ons and turn-offs. Teachers were then asked if there was anything that could be done to reduce the turn-offs (sources of discouragement) and/or increase the turn-ons (sources of enthusiasm). Again the facilitator probed all answers for clarity and the responses were recorded on a final separate sheet of newsprint. Teachers were then thanked for their participation and offered the opportunity to receive results of the study if they so desired. The interview was concluded and all data gathered (both newsprint sheets and index cards) were collected for coding and analysis. This third section of the interview data is currently being analyzed and is not included in this report.

It should be noted that during these interviews no direct scaling was attempted in any form, and no questions were asked specific to dimensions such as effort, locus, controllability, or difficulties. Rather, teachers were encouraged to produce their own lists consisting of whatever items they felt appropriate to their own experience in the profession of teaching. One of the benefits of analyzing this kind of data is that it attempts to avoid the biases that may be associated with research that constructs rigid categories and other classification parameters. These kinds of open-ended questions allowed teachers to provide broadly based responses across a variety of issues specific to the teaching profession. This freedom of expression was deemed a vital consideration by original members of the research consortium and is evidenced in various research protocols throughout the literature (Kottkamp, Provenzo, & Cohen, 1986; Lortie, 1975). Second, because of the language factor associated with any form of cross-cultural or cross-national research, researchers from across the consortium attempted to construct questions that would be universally understood and easily translated for practical use. Based on feedback from individual researchers through trial use in individual countries, the questions as used in this research were deemed to fulfil that criterion. They represent a simple yet effective means of deriving information germane to the topic of teacher enthusiasm and discouragement. However, I would be remiss if I did not discuss the issue of equivalence as it relates to response bias: for

example, equivalence in the sense that when accounting for possible differences we can be assured that the questions asked mean exactly the same things in each country (conceptual equivalence). Consortium members have tried to address this notion in the simplicity of construction and delivery of the questions utilized; equivalence in the sense that the people who answer the questions are the same kinds of people (sampling equivalence). All the people interviewed were secondary school teachers who volunteered their time for this research project and, as such, the researchers could not control for many factors that might influence responses across a volunteer or self-selected sample. However, if a bias across group responses in countries does indeed exist it is a consistent bias and one of circumstance, not creation. This should be remembered when discussing possible findings and conclusions emanating from this research. Finally, equivalence in that the methods of investigation and delivery of questions was as close to identical as possible (methodological equivalence). It should be stated as well that the Japanese data were collected in the presence of at least one American member of the CCCRE fluent in Japanese. To the extent that this represents continuity of collection protocols, the researchers were consistent vis-à-vis methodological equivalence.

Data Analysis

Frequency distributions were developed on the various patterns of similarities and differences between the responses from all countries involved. These nonparametric statistics are appropriate given the nominal type of data generated through this kind of study. The chi-square test for multiple independent samples (Siegel & Castellan, 1988) was used to determine if significant differences ($p<.05$) existed between responses of specific teacher groups across cultures with regard to sources of enthusiasm and discouragement.

It is important to consider the nature and context of this research undertaken given the methodology used. The educational community, as well as the process of education itself, does not easily fit into well-defined research normalacy and often requires unique ways in which reality can be reflected, if not measured. As a result, research in the boundaries of the educational environment often necessitates modes of inquiry that go beyond rows and columns of numbers. It must be so, lest our works succeed in doing nothing more "than reducing the richness of teaching to nothing more than the atomism of a multiple variable design" (Shulman, 1988, p. 4).

The data collected, reviewed, and analyzed through this research represent the combined efforts of research teams from many distinct countries and cultures. As members of the CCCRE, these researchers have cooperated in assembling, translating, and reporting the information herein contained. In reporting the findings, only major statistical categories are discussed to provide a general frame of reference in a comparative context. As well, lower- and upper-level interval percentages were generated to provide a conservative estimate of the confidence intervals. When upper- and lower-level intervals for any two countries overlap, they are not significantly different. If the intervals do not overlap, the country percentages are significantly different.

The data are presented anecdotally as well as in original table format. Original tables containing responses across all cluster findings are included to provide additional comparative data in areas such as percentage of response in

the specific cluster (students and learning) relative to the entire pool of responses. The findings generated through this work relate specifically to teacher perceptions surrounding students and learning as a function of their professional work lives.

All teacher responses were entered into a Macintosh microcomputer using Microsoft Word version 4.0. To delineate separate responses a master code was assigned indicating one of the following: country, school, number of groups, interviewer's code, date, and source category. This information was then entered into the MTS system at the University of Michigan. The coding was entered so as to allow for the generation of comparative tables.

Findings

The findings surrounding the nature of relations with students represents the dominant statistical category as witnessed in this particular study. Prior research has identified students as a primary source of teacher enthusiasm and discouragement (Menlo & Poppleton, 1990). This cluster focuses on such aspects as classroom practices, individual and group interaction with students, and the control one has over learning situations.

Researchers have determined that enthusiastic students positively influence the quality of work life for teachers (Collins, 1976; Cruikshank, 1980). Other researchers have stated that teachers are satisfied when their students learn well and actively engage in classroom activities with their teachers (Boland & Shelly, 1980; Kottkamp et al., 1986; Sarason, 1982). A corollary are those studies that note the impact that disruptive or uninterested students can have on teacher job dissatisfaction or discouragement (Greenberg, 1984; Litt & Turk, 1985). Still other researchers have postulated that the development and growth of students is a major source of job satisfaction for teachers (Dedrick, Hawkes, Richard, & Smith, 1981; Lobosco, Dianna, Sole, & Marciam, 1988), whereas other studies clearly imply that students are the focal point of job satisfaction and enthusiasm when they achieve academically and are enthusiastic and responsive (Evers & Engle, 1989). In light of the findings emanating from these and other studies, it is reasonable to suggest that teacher involvement with students can be characterized as a dynamic aspect inherent in the broad topic of teacher enthusiasm and discouragement.

Sources of Enthusiasm

The findings across the enthusiasm categories of this research support the literature described above. Of particular interest across all seven countries studied is the predominance of responses associated with enthusiasm generated through the Student and Learning cluster. As Table 1 illustrates, from the total response pool of 2,076 teachers issued 1,267 responses, or 61.03% of all statements recorded across the five cluster groups into the student and learning category. Participating teachers appear to associate students as the vital element that serves to enhance one's enthusiasm for the profession. Only the American and Singapore contingents fell below a 50% response rate with both countries close to the 50% level. The English and Japanese teachers both registered over 80% response rates in this particular cluster (80% and 82.47% respectively), a considerable result considering the context of the study. The specific subcategory Student Enthusiasm and Responsiveness (419 responses

Table 1
General Sources of Enthusiasm for Teachers in Seven Countries: Frequencies, Percentages, and Chi-square

Enthusiasm Categories	*Cross-culture Statistics* *Statistic Names*	*Cat. Sum*	*	*Within-culture Statistics* *USA*	*England*	*Germany*	*Japan*	*Singapore*	*Canada*	*Poland*
Students and Learning	Category Freq:	1,267	*	119	104	131	367	203	209	134
	Category Percent	61.03	*	46.48	80.00	61.79	82.47	47.21	56.49	57.51
	Upper % Limit	64.53	*	49.98	83.50	65.29	85.97	50.71	59.99	61.01
	Lower % Limit	57.53	*	42.99	76.50	58.29	78.97	43.71	52.99	54.01
Teachers and Teaching	Category Freq:	525	*	77	21	57	60	116	99	95
	Category Percent	25.29	*	30.08	16.15	26.89	13.48	26.98	26.76	40.77
	Upper % Limit	28.79	*	33.58	19.65	30.39	16.98	30.48	30.26	44.27
	Lower % Limit	21.79	*	26.58	12.66	23.39	9.98	23.48	23.26	37.27
Administrators and Administration	Category Freq:	121	*	29	0	2	8	50	32	0
	Category Percent	5.83	*	11.33	0.00	0.94	1.80	11.63	8.65	0.00
	Upper % Limit	9.33	*	14.83	3.50	4.44	5.30	15.13	12.15	3.50
	Lower % Limit	2.33	*	7.83	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.13	5.15	0.00
Work Conditions	Category Freq:	109	*	20	1	4	8	51	21	4
	Category Percent	5.25	*	7.81	0.77	1.89	1.80	11.86	5.68	1.72
	Upper % Limit	8.75	*	11.31	4.27	5.39	5.30	15.36	9.17	5.22
	Lower % Limit	1.75	*	4.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.36	2.18	0.00
Parents and Community	Category Freq:	54	*	11	4	18	2	10	9	0
	Category Percent	2.60	*	4.30	3.08	8.49	0.45	2.33	2.43	0.00
	Upper % Limit	6.10	*	7.80	6.58	11.99	3.95	5.82	5.93	3.50
	Lower % Limit	0.00	*	0.80	0.00	4.99	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Enthusiasm Totals For all Countries	Category Freq:	2,076	*	256	130	212	445	430	370	233
	Category Percent	100.00	*	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 2
Students and Learning as Sources of Enthusiasm for Teachers in Seven Countries: Frequencies, Percentages, and Chi-square

Student and learning Subcategories	*Cross-culture statistics Statistic Names*	*Cat. Sum*	*	*Within-culture Statistics USA*	*England*	*Germany*	*Japan*	*Singapore*	*Canada*	*Poland*
Student enthusiasm and responsiveness	Category Freq:	419	*	32	46	35	83	102	93	28
	Category Percent	33.07	*	26.89	44.23	26.72	22.62	50.25	44.50	20.90
	Upper % Limit	36.58	*	30.40	47.74	30.23	26.13	53.76	48.01	24.41
	Lower % Limit	29.56	*	23.38	40.72	23.20	19.10	46.73	40.98	17.38
Emotional bond between students and teachers	Category Freq:	229	*	13	30	34	77	21	23	31
	Category Percent	18.07	*	10.92	28.85	25.95	20.98	10.34	11.00	23.13
	Upper % Limit	21.59	*	14.44	32.36	29.47	24.49	13.86	14.52	26.65
	Lower % Limit	14.56	*	7.41	25.33	22.44	17.47	6.83	7.49	19.62
Academic achievement of students	Category Freq:	132	*	23	14	18	22	31	7	17
	Category Percent	10.42	*	19.33	13.46	13.74	5.99	15.27	3.35	12.69
	Upper % Limit	13.93	*	22.84	16.98	17.25	9.51	18.78	6.86	16.20
	Lower % Limit	6.90	*	15.81	9.95	10.23	2.48	11.76	0.00	9.17
Growth and development of students	Category Freq:	239	*	22	3	32	81	13	45	43
	Category Percent	18.86	*	18.49	2.88	22.43	22.07	6.40	21.53	32.09
	Upper % Limit	22.38	*	22.00	6.40	27.94	25.58	9.92	25.04	35.60
	Lower % Limit	15.35	*	14.97	0.00	20.91	18.56	2.89	18.02	28.58
Long-term contacts with students	Category Freq:	67	*	17	1	0	33	4	6	6
	Category Percent	5.29	*	14.29	0.96	0.00	8.99	1.97	2.87	4.48
	Upper % Limit	8.80	*	17.80	4.48	3.51	12.51	5.48	6.38	7.99
	Lower % Limit	1.77	*	10.77	0.00	0.00	5.48	0.00	0.00	0.96
Respect appreciation from students	Category Freq:	69	*	7	9	0	4	24	17	8
	Category Percent	5.45	*	5.88	8.65	0.00	1.09	11.82	8.13	5.97
	Upper % Limit	8.96	*	9.40	12.17	3.51	4.60	15.34	11.65	9.48
	Lower % Limit	1.93	*	2.37	5.14	0.00	0.00	8.31	4.62	2.46

Table 2 (continued)

Student and learning Subcategories	*Cross-culture statistics Statistic Names*	*Cat. Sum*	*	*Within-culture Statistics USA*	*England*	*Germany*	*Japan*	*Singapore*	*Canada*	*Poland*
Students' understanding lesson and their role	Category Freq:	64	*	2	1	2	39	4	16	0
	Category Percent	5.05	*	1.68	0.96	1.53	10.63	1.97	7.66	0.00
	Upper % Limit	8.56	*	5.19	4.48	5.04	14.14	5.48	11.17	3.51
	Lower % Limit	1.54	*	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.11	0.00	4.14	0.00
When students come for help	Category Freq:	32	*	1	0	8	17	4	2	0
	Category Percent	2.53	*	0.84	0.00	6.11	4.63	1.97	0.96	0.00
	Upper % Limit	6.04	*	4.35	3.51	9.62	8.15	5.48	4.47	3.51
	Lower % Limit	0.00	*	0.00	0.00	2.59	1.12	0.00	0.00	0.00
Good student-student relationships	Category Freq:	16	*	2	0	2	11	0	0	1
	Category Percent	1.26	*	1.68	0.00	1.53	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
	Upper % Limit	4.78	*	5.19	3.51	5.04	6.51	3.51	3.51	4.26
	Lower % Limit	0.00	*	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Student and Learning Totals for all countries	Category Freq:	1,267	*	119	104	131	367	203	209	134
	Category Percent	100.00	*	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

or 33.07%) as seen in Table 2 shows this area as a key satisfier for teachers across all countries with the exception of Poland. The second highest scoring subcategory was Growth and Development of Students, with the seven countries providing 18.86% of all cluster responses in this area. Again, the English proved an exception along with the Singapore teachers as neither group expressed a substantial response pool in this subcategory. Filling out the top three subcategory scores on a percentage and frequency basis was Emotional Bond Between Students and Teachers. The results were similar to the previous subcategory with 229 responses (or 18.07%) associated in this subcluster. It would appear that teachers across the countries sampled identify with students personally vis-à-vis their own professional enthusiasm. Teachers consistently expressed a desire to have eager students who are responsive and attentive in order to increase their own professional enjoyment. As well, teachers appear to attach fairly significant importance to individual student growth and development and the bonds that develop between the teacher and student as precursory conditions through which the teacher gains enthusiasm for his or her work life.

One interesting note is that the subcategory Academic Achievement of Students placed a distant fourth in terms of total responses in this cluster. Only the American respondents had findings approaching 20% in this subcategory, the implication being that many of the teachers throughout this sample did not attach a high degree of importance to student achievement as it relates to their own professional enthusiasm.

Sources of Discouragement

In comparison with the response frequency for enthusiasm (1,267) teachers registered 565 responses (Table 3) out of a total response pool of 1,951 when commenting on students as sources of discouragement in their professional lives. Although only half the number of enthusiasm responses, teachers appear not only to identify students as the prime source of enthusiasm, but also as the prime source of teacher discouragement. Clearly teachers from most countries studied identified students as vital components of their professional lives in a positive and negative sense. On the discouragement side, teachers listed responses from the subcategory Low Motivation of Students as the single greatest discourager in the total of five subcategories examined with 36.81% of all responses falling into this area. As seen in Table 4, only the German teachers were out of the range relative to upper or lower limits, with a 22.09% response. Conversely, the Polish teachers scored the highest in this subcategory with a 60% response rate. It would appear that, in general, the teachers polled in this study agree that students who show low motivation are high on the list of elements that serve to discourage teachers in their teaching. This finding was closely followed by the second rated subcategory, Negative Attitudes and Behaviors, which accounted for 29.73% of total responses. In this instance, the Japanese were somewhat different in their feelings toward their students, as only 11.70% (or 20 responses) are associated with this subcluster. It would appear that of all the countries examined the Japanese have the fewest problems with negative attitudes and behavior problems associated with students as a discourager for teachers. Interestingly, although the Poles identified low motivation as a key problem area (60%) they did not feel the same about

Table 3
General Sources of Discouragement for Teachers in Seven Countries: Frequencies, Percentages, and Chi-square

Discouragement Categories	*Cross-culture statistics Statistic Names*	*Cat. Sum*	*	*Within-culture Statistics USA*	*England*	*Germany*	*Japan*	*Singapore*	*Canada*	*Poland*
Students and Learning	Category Freq:	565	*	43	37	86	171	78	110	40
	Category Percent	28.96	*	19.28	26.81	48.59	41.81	18.57	30.90	17.54
	Upper % Limit	32.55	*	22.88	30.40	52.18	45.40	22.16	34.49	21.14
	Lower % Limit	25.37	*	15.69	23.22	44.99	38.22	14.98	27.31	13.95
Teachers and Teaching	Category Freq:	319	*	34	28	20	114	48	55	20
	Category Percent	16.35	*	15.25	20.29	11.30	27.87	11.43	15.45	8.77
	Upper % Limit	19.94	*	18.84	23.88	14.89	31.47	15.02	19.04	12.36
	Lower % Limit	21.76	*	11.65	16.70	7.71	24.28	7.84	11.86	5.18
Administrators and Administration	Category Freq:	406	*	57	23	25	30	132	90	49
	Category Percent	20.81	*	25.56	16.67	14.12	7.33	31.43	25.28	21.49
	Upper % Limit	24.40	*	29.15	20.26	17.72	10.93	35.02	28.87	25.08
	Lower % Limit	17.22	*	21.97	13.07	10.53	3.74	27.84	21.69	17.90
Situational Work Conditions	Category Freq:	491	*	54	28	28	81	137	60	103
	Category Percent	25.17	*	24.22	20.29	15.82	19.80	32.62	16.85	45.18
	Upper % Limit	28.76	*	27.81	23.88	19.41	23.40	36.21	20.45	48.77
	Lower % Limit	21.57	*	20.62	16.70	12.23	16.21	29.03	13.26	41.58
Parents and Community	Category Freq:	170	*	35	22	18	13	25	41	16
	Category Percent	8.71	*	15.70	15.94	10.17	3.18	5.95	11.52	7.02
	Upper % Limit	12.31	*	19.29	19.53	13.76	6.77	9.55	15.11	10.61
	Lower % Limit	5.12	*	12.10	12.35	6.58	0.00	2.36	7.92	3.42
Discouragement Sums for all Countries	Category Freq:	1,951	*	223	138	177	409	420	356	228
	Category Percent	100.00	*	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4
Students and Learning Sources of Discouragement for Teachers in Seven Countries: Frequencies, Percentages, and Chi-square

Student and Learning Subcategories	*Cross-culture statistics Statistic Names*	*Cat. Sum*	*	*Within-culture Statistics USA*	*England*	*Germany*	*Japan*	*Singapore*	*Canada*	*Poland*
Poor student-teacher communication	Category Freq:	106	*	2	7	18	68	1	5	5
	Category Percent	18.76	*	4.65	18.92	20.93	39.77	1.28	4.55	12.50
	Upper % Limit	25.86	*	11.75	26.01	28.03	46.86	8.38	11.64	19.60
	Lower % Limit	11.67	*	0.00	11.82	13.83	32.67	0.00	0.00	5.40
Negative attitudes and behaviors	Category Freq:	168	*	15	10	29	20	35	52	7
	Category Percent	29.73	*	34.88	27.03	33.72	11.70	44.87	47.27	17.50
	Upper % Limit	36.83	*	41.98	34.12	40.82	18.79	51.97	54.37	24.60
	Lower % Limit	22.64	*	27.79	19.93	26.63	4.60	37.78	40.18	10.40
Low achievement of students	Category Freq:	52	*	2	1	16	15	12	2	4
	Category Percent	9.20	*	4.65	2.70	18.60	8.77	15.38	1.82	10.00
	Upper % Limit	16.30	*	11.75	9.80	25.70	15.87	22.48	8.91	17.10
	Lower % Limit	2.11	*	0.00	0.00	11.51	1.68	8.29	0.00	2.90
Low Motivation in students	Category Freq:	208	*	18	17	19	56	26	48	24
	Category Percent	36.81	*	41.86	45.95	22.09	32.75	33.33	43.64	60.00
	Upper % Limit	43.91	*	48.96	53.04	29.19	39.84	40.43	50.73	67.10
	Lower % Limit	29.72	*	34.77	38.85	15.00	25.65	26.24	36.54	52.90
Students frustrated by the system	Category Freq:	31	*	6	2	4	12	4	3	0
	Category Percent	5.49	*	13.95	5.41	4.65	7.02	5.13	2.73	0.00
	Upper % Limit	12.58	*	21.05	12.50	11.75	14.11	12.22	9.82	7.10
	Lower % Limit	0.00	*	6.86	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Students and Learning for countries	Category Freq:	565	*	43	37	86	171	78	110	40
	Category Freq:	100.00	*	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

negative attitudes or behaviors (17.50% of responses). Although one might surmise that low motivation could be easily linked to negative behaviors and attitudes, the Polish teachers appear to discount that connection.

Finally, Poor Student-Teacher Communications is the third rated discourager subcategory, primarily because of the response pattern from one country, Japan. The Japanese teachers are significantly different from all other countries studied in this regard, indicating that a lack of two-way communication often leads to teacher discouragement. It is worth noting that during interviews with some Japanese teachers a shared-blame problem often arose. This group of teachers appears to accept responsibility for failure in this regard far more often than virtually any other group of teachers, linking failure as much internally as externally. Indeed, the Japanese were the only group of teachers that had a higher frequency response in this subcategory than in the low motivation section. It should also be noted as well that as in the enthusiasm section, teachers from across the study did not associate professional discouragement with low student achievement. For the teachers studied in this research, student achievement did not play a vital role in either the enthusiasm or discouragement that teachers associated with their professional work lives.

Comments

In assessing the results of responses across all countries some interesting trends developed. As previously noted, teachers clearly identified students as the primary and central factor that has an impact on both their professional enthusiasm and discouragement. It would appear that teachers almost universally treasure student responsiveness and enthusiasm as a vital factor in their own enthusiasm, and conversely list low motivation in students as a discourager. The former point would confirm the findings of several studies previously referred to, including Collins (1976) and Cruikshank (1980) who concluded that student enthusiasm was one important aspect of teacher satisfaction. In addition, information derived from this study would also confirm the findings that Greenberg (1984) and Litt and Turk (1985) proposed in that disruptive or uninterested students can have a detrimental affect on teacher enthusiasm, leading to discouragement for educators. Based on the findings of this research, it appears that students are the vital bridge that links teacher enthusiasm and discouragement in a real time sense during the course of a teacher's professional engagement.

It is worth noting that teachers did not identify student success or academic achievement as vital to either enthusiasm or discouragement in their profession. This point could call into question some of the findings of Evers and Engle (1989) that tied teacher enthusiasm to student academic performance. Clearly the teachers from the countries sampled through this research indicated that academic success for students was not a key indicator for teacher enthusiasm or discouragement. Rather, it seems that it is the relationship between teacher and student(s) that counts far more than academic measures when discussing student impact on the professional lives of educators.

Finally, the results from this research continue to place the Japanese teacher in a different educational light. In a review of the comparative data from this seven-nation study, the Japanese stand out as the one group of teachers that appear different in many ways, especially relative to teachers and their com-

munication with students. Of particular interest is the notion of shared blame that the Japanese teachers often mentioned in the course of interviews. They appear to treasure two-way communication with pupils and readily accept their share of responsibility when problems arise between themselves and their students. Even the harshest critics of Japanese education must agree that this is a lesson in relationship building that teachers everywhere would be wise to study and emulate. The concepts of shared blame and two-way communication might explain in part the relatively lower responses of Japanese teachers with regard to negative student attitudes and poor behaviors. Undoubtedly all teachers, irrespective of their cultural affiliations, would welcome these circumstances in their own classrooms.

Summary

This research demonstrates that teachers want and need positive relationships with students in order to heighten their own sense of professional enthusiasm and worth. In addressing any potential changes or modification to school systems or curriculum, this vitally important notion should not be missed lest we rob teachers of the very reason they appear to become and stay enthused with their work. Teachers in this study repeatedly stated during the interview that students were at the heart of their existence in front of the classroom, and as members of the educational community at large we would be wise to acknowledge this fact during the construction of the new classrooms of the 21st century.

Through the type of cross-cultural research undertaken in this study educators might better be able first to understand, then effectively change, their professional environments for the better. This can only have positive ramifications for the classrooms of the future. As Emerson once wrote: "Nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm."

So it is with education.

Research Highlights

1. Teachers across cultures appear to identify students as the vital element that serves to enhance enthusiasm for teaching.
2. Teachers across cultures appear to identify students as the vital element that serves to enhance discouragement for teaching as well.
3. Student enthusiasm and responsiveness are an important aspect of teacher enthusiasm across a majority of cultures studied.
4. Student academic achievement does not appear to be an important element in teacher enthusiasm across a majority of cultures studied.
5. Students exhibiting low motivation appear to be a major contributor to teacher dissatisfaction across a majority of cultures studied.
6. Japanese teachers cite two-way communication problems as a major contributor to teacher discouragement.
7. Japanese teachers identify the fewest problems with negative student behaviors and attitudes of any nation studied.

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Ethnography as Veneration

Although ethnographic research in education is now an accepted and fairly established form of inquiry, ethnography presents problems for researchers who must position themselves throughout the process from initial planning through data collection, analysis, and reporting. This article suggests that the positioning of ethnographic researchers vis-à-vis their studies is sometimes precarious, leading to theoretical and linguistic difficulties that are often unresolved in the written reports. I suggest that one major problem is the tendency toward veneration of participants/informants and the environments they create, one of which is classrooms. This tendency, a tacit one, is often revealed in the discourse structures and language styles used by ethnographers when they write their studies. I discuss five concerns in the article, using examples from a variety of ethnographic studies in language education at various levels.

La recherche ethnographique dans le domaine de l'éducation est maintenant un moyen d'enquête plus ou moins établi et accepté. Malgré ceci, l'ethnographie présente des problèmes pour les chercheur(e)s qui doivent se situer pendant le déroulement de l'étude à partir de la planification initiale, à la collecte des données, à l'analyse, pour en arriver enfin au reportage de leurs trouvailles. Cet article suggère que la façon dont se situent consciemment les chercheur(e)s ethnographiques envers leurs études est parfois précaire, ce qui crée des difficultés théoriques et linguistiques qui demeurent souvent non résolus dans les rapports écrits. Je suggère que pour les chercheur(e)s la tendance de vénérer les participant(e)s et l'environnement qu'ils et qu'elles créent comme celui de la salle de classe est un des problèmes majeurs. Cette tendance, quoique sous-entendue et tacite, est souvent révélée entre les lignes des structures discursives et du style langagier qu'utilisent les ethnographes lorsqu'ils/elles écrivent et présentent leurs recherches. Dans cet article, je discute cinq points d'intérêt en utilisant des exemples tirés d'une variété d'études ethnographiques de l'éducation du langage à différents niveaux.

Introduction

Ethnographic research methodologies are commonplace in educational research of the 1990s. Especially in cases of graduate student research undertaken for theses and dissertations, ethnography is increasingly the methodology of choice. Increasingly too one finds ethnographic studies in published research journals and in academic books that report extensive studies. References such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Bogdan and Biklen (1982) are quoted to support the researcher's preference for ethnography as the research tool, be it participant-researcher study, case study, reflective study, interview study, or observational study. Along with ethnography, narration is a common mode of reporting, often intermixed with other modes of discourse such as description.

Also known as naturalistic study, ethnography offers researchers the opportunity to study educational phenomena in the settings where they occur,

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although settings do differ from the otherwise "natural" environment by the presence of the researcher or participant-observer. Ethnographers offer no apologies for their presence in the environment or culture; they make known their involvement and position themselves as a participant in the culture. They become themselves part of the research, part of the context, part of the phenomenon being studied. Through their becoming part of the context of study, in their immersion in the environment, by their interacting with research participants, ethnographer-researchers identify with the participants. In fact, identification probably begins before the formal outset or initiation of the study. Identification on a professional basis in many instances leads the potential researcher to the research, but that claim is the basis for a different article. However, if identification is not present before the study, it certainly develops during the study as the researcher seeks to establish a trustful relationship with (the) informant(s). The situatedness of researcher-participant among informants sets the stage for a possible, and even likely, bonding process wherein researchers develop empathy with the researched as they strive to make meaning of the events taking place and of the knowledge being created. But when researchers leave the environment, laden with data from a variety of sources, and begin the seemingly dispassionate process of creating meaning through analysis, the ethnographic bonding is likely to remain as a filter through which the data are analyzed and meaning or sense is made of the phenomena. Many researchers stay in contact with the environment through having participants read and comment on analysis and drafts. They believe that analysis is an ongoing process and guides data collection, also ongoing, in a reflexive way.

My concern in this article is that ethnographic bonding, or "going native" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 304), sometimes results in the human informants central to the study assuming a state of veneration as the findings are reported. The genesis of veneration is often first evident when the ethnographer-researcher describes the research setting, wherein a predilection toward creating a favorable impression of the "informant" is not always subtle. Reporters and investigators in the world of human affairs have always protected their informants because they realize that the information supplied by their informants and gathered in confidence must be taken seriously, accorded the status of truth or fact, or at the very least accepted as reliable evidence of the situation or phenomenon under investigation. Ethnographers, the investigators in educational research, likewise strive to establish the credibility of their informants. However, at times this research credentialing process borders on veneration of the principal informant(s).

Ethnomethodology

Heap (1992), an educational sociologist, describes ethnomethodology as a subdiscipline of sociology, although the disciplinary perspective has been used in linguistics and hence literacy studies in education. Atkinson (1990), a sociologist, argues that sociologists need to be self-consciously aware of what they are doing throughout the research process, and be more critically aware of how sociological texts are constructed by their authors. He hastens to add, however, that "attention to the 'literary' or 'rhetorical' features of ... texts in no way undermines their scholarly credibility or status" (p. 1). Atkinson's admonitions are as much applicable to educational researchers as to his own

fellow academics in sociology because the ascendancy of ethnomethodology in educational research has made such research, in effect, a type of sociological research.

Ethnomethodology examines the culture, society, or situation wherein the phenomenon of interest cannot be described or examined outside the context in which it occurs. The researcher is a participant or member of the culture or society under scrutiny and becomes part of the focus of the study as well as part of the data. However, the researcher as researched and as data brings about problems of its own, an issue to which I return in the discussion of Researcher as Tacit Informant. Atkinson (1990) addresses many of the problems inherent in ethnographic research from the sociological perspective, but educators have given their own color to ethnography.

For example, educational researchers have compressed the important aspect of time in ethnographic research; rather than extended time in the field, educational ethnographies often cover just a few weeks. Longitudinal studies in education are the exception. Another issue that comes up in educational applications of ethnography is that of the relationship between theory and research. One recent example comes from a proposal for doctoral research in adult literacy. The researcher-claimant drew heavily on grounded theory as the framework for the study. Quoting Strauss (1987), this writer declared that grounded theory is not a specific method or technique, but rather a style of doing qualitative research. The writer then declared that "the researcher does not begin with a theory, then set out to prove it. Rather, the researcher begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge." I cannot imagine a researcher not approaching research without a theory, however tacit it be. No researcher is atheoretical, else there would be no identifiable study. The mere definition of a study, an area of study, presumes a theory, be it emerging or emergent. It behooves ethnographers claiming to be grounded theorists to proclaim and examine their tacit theory at the outset of their research and to return to it critically at the end of their study.

In an extensive article entitled "Some Similarities and Differences Among Phenomenological and Other Methods of Psychological Qualitative Research," Osborne (1994) hints at what may be a source of the difficulty of reporting findings faced by ethnographers, especially neophytes. This difficulty lies in the confusion between phenomenological research and ethnographic research. Quoting Spiegelberg, Osborne notes that phenomenological analysis "is analysis of the phenomena themselves, not of expressions that refer to them" (Spiegelberg, 1982, p. 690). Many ethnographers, however, seem to confuse the expressions that refer to the phenomena—that is, the language they use to describe the phenomena—with the phenomena. Is it possible to separate the phenomena from the language used to describe them? I believe it is, to the extent that one interprets one's linguistic descriptions rather than using and reporting them as raw data themselves, leaving them to the reader to interpret. In other words, the researcher needs to be critical of his or her own language of reporting. In this sense the ethnographer must be doubly reflective—of the phenomenon observed, and of the language of recording the phenomenon. Spiegelberg (1982) would concur: "Careful intuiting and faithful description

are not to be taken for granted and they require a considerable degree of aptitude, training and conscientious self-criticism" (p. 689).

My experience with graduate students writing theses and dissertations is that their ethnographic writing, especially in the narrative mode, exhibits a tendency toward venerating the situations and participants/informants under study. This tendency is not surprising, given that most educational researchers in graduate programs are teachers, are participating reflectively on their own and others' teaching practices, and are empathetic to the problems and issues facing teachers, including those participating in their own studies. The product of such veneration is an interpretive veneer that renders the data and findings as privileged understandings or knowledge. To illustrate how ethnographic veneration surreptitiously enters educational research, I have drawn studies from my area of interest, namely, English language arts education, language education, and the English language arts, from middle-years students to postsecondary adults. Examples are from master's degree theses, a doctoral research proposal, and research reported in journals and published in book form. Five concerns arising from ethnographic veneration are discussed: (a) The trope of the participant observer; (b) Ethnography as a product of research; (c) Ethnography as textual practice; (d) Researcher as tacit informant; and (e) Ethnography as construction of knowledge and social power. In the instances where I refer to studies undertaken at my own institution I use pseudonyms, not wishing unjustly to attack either the credibility of the researcher or the validity of the study.

The Trope of the Participant Observer

The first concern I wish to discuss is that of the trope of the participant observer, a term used by Herndl (1991) to deal with the researcher's stance or positioning of self in the study. (A trope is a phrase, sentence, or paragraph used to amplify or embellish the larger text into which it is inserted.) A dilemma exists for ethnographers when they build themselves into their own studies as both sources of data and as observers. They have to establish the uniqueness of their own experience through the I-was-there element, but they also have to suppress their own participation in the study in order to establish an unmediated or noninfluential authorization of the observation in order to render a degree of validity. Herndl (1991) suggests that this seemingly contradictory, dualistic act of presence and suppression is often accomplished by the use of the "arrival story, the poetic description of the ethnographer entering the native scene. This trope establishes the fieldworker's presence, authorizes her account, and then allows her to recede from the following description" (p. 325).

But alas, sometimes such poetic descriptions are less poetic than euphoric. An example from a master's thesis, a study of conferencing in a middle-years writing process classroom, sets this scene for the researcher's first visit to the classroom:

> One spring morning I made my first visit to P.'s classroom. The room was what I expected it to be, bright and well lit.... Hanging within the window and located throughout the entire classroom were numerous plants which provided a personal touch. The room had a pleasant, welcoming mood and I immediately felt comfortable.... Knowing there is a strong trend to improve the atmosphere of

> middle years classrooms, I recognized P.'s successful attempts to achieve this goal. (pp. 63-64)

I suggest that this writer has created a theoretical middle-years classroom setting into which he then steps and quickly confirms as the idyllic setting and which in turn matches the theoretical construct of a nurturing writing process classroom. The language used by the researcher, especially his choice of adjectives, suggests that an affirming stance has been taken; the writer has not suppressed his own participation in the study. Thus as reader, I am not convinced that a sufficient distancing has been achieved between researcher and researched. I develop a questioning, skeptical stance toward the validity of the study just unfolding.

The positioning of the researcher-participant in ethnographic research is critical. The researcher-writer can foreground herself or himself, as occurs in a study by Neilsen (1989) of the literate lives of three adults in Nova Scotia, and in the doctoral dissertation research of Cathro (1993) who studied the academic literate lives of two adult Aboriginal women in an undergraduate teacher education program; or position herself or himself in the background, as does Heath (1983) in her study of literacy among working-class white and black families in the Piedmont Carolinas. Either foregrounding or backgrounding can be successfully used by ethnographers, as these three studies exemplify, although foregrounding requires diligent use of descriptive language and analytic distancing that neophyte ethnographers may have difficulty achieving. The use of poetic description (trope) allows the writer to persuade the reader of the verisimilitude of the study.

Atkinson (1990) tells us that the text cannot simply transcribe or report. To be found plausible, the ethnographic text "must establish relations of identity and difference with other equivalent texts; it must establish relations of similarity and difference with the social world it reports" (p. 15). These other equivalent texts are those accepted ethnographic studies in the same field of study, accepted through the peer review process that leads to publication. Equivalent texts constitute the review of literature that informs the research at hand. However, some ethnographers are under the impression that their research is unique in the sense that nothing similar has preceded it in the ethnographic domain. Although this may be true, research from other research traditions or methods may have addressed the same phenomenon. Equivalent texts do not have to be of the same research pedigree or in the same discourse or rhetorical mode. Ethnographers need to situate their research within ethnography but equivalence is to the phenomenon of study; ethnographers need to read beyond ethnography. However, one's own study needs to be both compared to and contrasted with these other texts. It is simply not sufficient to affirm or privilege a dominant orthodoxy promoted by populist educational texts. I argue that this is what has occurred with ethnographic studies of the writing process, to the extent that the writing process has become an unchallenged theory that drives much uncritical and simplistic research in writing.

Ethnography as a Product of Research

The second problem is that of ethnography as a product of research. This occurs when the ethnographic text is a product of the ethnographer's dis-

course; the reader must be aware of how the ethnography was produced and how interpretation is, in part at least, a function of the writer's discourse. Herndl (1991) warns that the ethnographer's material is always a representation. For example, field notes "are already texts produced by the ethnographer's discourse" (p. 321). In this sense field notes are not raw data, as often claimed, but a linguistic representation of observed phenomena. Interpretation has occurred in the processing of recording. The "data" to which the ethnographer returns to write the ethnographic account is not an experience but the already textualized representation of experience in field notes and other records. Herndl argues that ethnography comes into being already inscribed in discourse. Except for verbatim transcripts of the researcher's interviews with informants, it is difficult to refute the interpretive nature of ethnographic data in the language of the researcher. Constructing the ethnographic account is a rhetorical activity; the critical ethnographic reader must be aware of the rhetorical nature of the text. How was it constructed and why? How were elements, "facts," data selected and why? How were such elements arranged in the text? Are there rhetorical patterns of comparison and contrast, projections of cause and effect, ends and means? These rhetorical questions need also be asked by the ethnographer in the process of constructing the text, although they are often neglected in the flow of the authoritative narrative voice.

Ethnography as Textual Practice

This concern is an outcome of the previous one. It is quite common to see the ethnographer invoke the narrative voice as the appropriate discourse for ethnography. This choice of discourse is an acceptable form of ethnographic writing, because it is the language of experience itself in the role of spectator (Britton, 1970). But narration must also be convincing as the authoritative voice of the ethnographer, and skillful use of narration that is also persuasive without being didactic does not come easily. Textually, the language employed must tell—there must be a sense of verisimilitude—and convincingly portray an ambience that readers inductively nuance. The latter requires careful use of descriptors: adjectives, verbs, adverbs. Here is an example of narration in an ethnographic study that calls into question textual practice.

> P.'s arrival was quick and cheerful. She took the time to say hello to a group of students arriving at the same time as she. It was apparent that her friendly informal nature was appreciated by the students. Too often teachers hide their personalities within the classroom and this, in turn, is recognized by the students. Not P. The energetic, bubbly P. that I knew was the same person welcoming the students to another day of school. (p. 67)

In this excerpt the writer's use of narrative is inconsistent. The use of the past tense suggests language in the role of spectator, removed from the here and now. But then the narrative quickly shifts in one sentence to a generalized, exculpatory discourse many times removed from the data, before returning to a laudatory sentence that reveres the informant.

Atkinson (1990) uses the term *reflexivity* to explain that texts do not simply and transparently report an independent order of reality. "Rather, the texts themselves are implicated in the work of reality-construction" (p. 7). The language of the ethnographer creates a reality that is a construct in and of itself,

and different from the reality of the lived experience, the actual data. The description of the teacher P. entering the classroom presents a different reality from the actual event.

The researcher-writer in the master's study quoted above describes the writing of his study as "an explanatory narrative." "In this study," he writes, "I used explanatory narrative to render an accurate account of my interpretation of conferencing in a middle years classroom" (p. 42). The writer cites Polkinghorne (1988) to support his use of this rhetorical technique: "The task of the researcher is to present ... patterns as realistically as possible. To accomplish this I used explanatory narrative as a framework. Narrative explanations are retrospective" (p. 43). Yet I charge that the language of this text is neither retrospective nor introspective. The explanatory discourse confirms the theoretical construct of an ideal middle-years classroom that preceded data collection. The phrase "the energetic, bubbly P. that I knew" suggests that the researcher had strongly identified with the informant prior to the study being conducted.

Once the researcher adopts the past tense, he or she adopts the role of spectator, reflecting and reporting on an experience or event and capturing that event not as a pure description of a phenomenon, but as a reflective account subject to interpretation that elapsed time and distance from the experience or event inevitably invokes. Narration in ethnography is not simply storytelling, but retelling. The researcher in the most recent example has confused the language of the here and now, language in the participant role, with the language of reflection, language in the spectator role.

There is no neutral language of observation. Researcher-writers need to be conscious of this fact and be sensitive to the language they employ, especially in their use of adjectivals and adverbials, the linguistic qualifiers. Atkinson (1990) writes of the "narrative contract" between ethnographer and reader via the rhetorical device known a "hypotyposis, the use of a highly graphic passage of descriptive writing, which portrays a scene or action in a vivid and arresting manner" (p. 71). I think that hypotyposis is what the quoted writer has attempted to use. The narrative contract is employed at key junctures in the text "to introduce settings and social actors, or to establish key transitions in the text. The reader enters into a sympathetic engagement with the social scene and its characters" (Atkinson, 1990, pp. 71-72). The last sentence is the key, I believe. The reader must be allowed to enter into a sympathetic engagement, but the writer should not predetermine the conditions for such engagement by taking on the role of the reader. This poses a dilemma for ethnographers using narration. The narrative mode invites the reader to become engaged with the text and context, yet academic discourse, the expectation many readers bring to an academic text such as a thesis, usually requires that certain conditions be met for positioning the reader. The writer becomes a reader of his or her text at a later stage but must use natural language at the point of narrative description. The writing process researcher cited above confuses the roles of writer and reader and empathetically engages himself through the explanatory narrative.

Narration, however, is a mode of discourse that developed outside the academy and is older than the academy itself. Narration is natural language; it is human for us to construct our world(s) through storying, such that one

telling or retelling of events is unlike another. Each recounting is a different story. Thus when we employ narration, a natural mode of discourse, in the service of ethnographic reporting, an academic and institutionalized discourse, and require it to take on other rhetorical functions such as persuasion, analysis, or cause and effect, we find that language breaks down, or our ability to use language for multifarious purposes cannot rise to the occasion. We fail or flounder as writers.

Researcher as Tacit Informant

I have foreshadowed the fourth concern in this discussion, that of the researcher as tacit informant in her own study. The unchecked or unrealized engagement of the writer as ethnographer discussed in the above section exemplifies this point. At what stage, if any, during the data analysis is the researcher able to separate self as data from informant data, and analysis of self-data from informant data? Or is this separation desirable or necessary? A theme throughout ethnography is the growth of the ethnographer that includes growth and understanding of self, often in a fairly explicit manner. This is often realized through the ethnographer locating herself or himself, and knowledge of self, in her or his study. Here is one example of the problem.

> Like many adult children of alcoholics, she has a driving need to achieve and exhibits the compulsive "bingeing" behavior that so often propels us through life. Like J. and me, E. pushes herself very hard. As she has grown, her activities have become highly constructive, and all have been carefully chosen to help her achieve her goals. (Neilsen, 1989, p. 120)

The same ethnographer comments on the research perspective of her study in these words:

> Working with J., J. and E., I was able to begin to see what literacy means in their lives. As I questioned and watched, I made connections between what I was seeing and hearing and what I had already experienced and known. What I learned from them not only gave life to the ideas about literacy and growth I brought to the research process, but extended them as well. (p. 7)

And finally, "In many ways, therefore, this work is about my literacy process as well" (p. 11). Earlier I noted that Neilsen (1989) had foregrounded herself in this study. It is not uncommon for the ethnographer to acknowledge his or her own growth, realization, broadened perspective, or self-revelation as a result of the ethnographic process. But it does beg the questions: Were the data interpreted solely or primarily through the unrealized researcher-self? Was the researcher as tacit informant the dominant voice in the study? Is the ethnography a study of writer-self embedded in the larger study, and which study is really being reported or foregrounded?

There is a danger of becoming underdistanced, too closely involved with one's topic or one's informants. Atkinson (1990) uses the term *marginal man* to describe the point of view of the sociologist ethnographer, one poised between intimacy and distance. "The participant side of participant-observation affords nearness, while the observer side lends fairness" (p. 19). Striking the right balance, finding the fulcrum, in this endeavor is a challenge for ethnographers. Lack of balance, which leads the researcher into adopting an advocacy role for the informant(s), comes through in the following excerpt.

> P. came over to me, smiled and said "hello" which immediately put me at ease. Before I had entered the room, I felt somewhat nervous but this quickly changed. Later, I said to P., "It's enjoyable being in the room, isn't it?" P. replied, "I like it. I really like it." (p. 67)

Clearly there is a tension faced by the ethnographic writer. "On the one hand there is the contrast between the 'self' of the observer and the 'other' of the observed.... In experiential terms the ethnographer is, in principle, always the 'marginal native'" (Atkinson, 1990, p. 157). The tension is between that of being a member of the community and being a stranger in the community. The temptation for the ethnographer, I believe, is wanting to be accepted as a member of the community, of desiring to be an insider rather than an outsider, when the ethnographer is not a member of the immediate or inner culture. However, in some instances the researcher is enculturated in the community, such as when a teacher-ethnographer researches events in her own classroom. And this encultured-ethnographer perspective presents other problems such as the valorizing of the teacher-informant; community members are mutually supportive and protective when necessary. Herzfeld (1983) expresses this tension in these words: "No ethnographer can ever claim to have been one or the other in an absolute sense. The very fact of negotiating one's status in the community precludes any such possibility" (p. 151). (The "one or the other" referred to by Herzfeld is insider or outsider.)

In the excerpt that follows, from a published study of the academic lives of two undergraduate students (Chiseri-Strater, 1991), it is unclear whether the writer is reporting what she learned in the class or what her informant heard or learned. The phenomenon of the researcher as tacit informant in her own study is evident in the depiction of an art history lecture in which the researcher sat along with students including her informant who was taking the class. Although the ethnographer scatters phrases such as "she comments," "she says" and "she suggests" when attributing statements to the observed instructor throughout the piece, the language is redolent of interpretation of content. The text reads like carefully transcribed lecture notes, in the guise of field notes.

> Hall (the art history instructor) often displays dissatisfaction with the slides, which cannot begin, she says, to do justice to the size or texture of the originals: "Oh nuts. This is a huge painting," she comments on Pollock's famous Autumn Rhythm: "Try to imagine this as filling up an entire wall of this room." The large scale of these works, she suggests, marks the final break of painting as being detached from the painter. In modern art, painting requires the viewer to be absorbed in pictorial space, the environment of the work encloses the spectator on all sides. As she moves closer to the slide, she suggests to students that they need to see the originals so that they can feel "the texture of the paint and allow themselves to float around in the painting." This kind of abstract art, Hall says, "requires you to enter into a dialogue with the painting itself." Again, generalizing from Pollock to an important concept of modernist work, she says that the abstract expressionist painters were "engaged in an argument between the literal surface and virtual space in painting." They were forging a new vocabulary for modern artists. (pp. 59-60)

This same study (Chiseri-Strater, 1991) yields another example of researcher as tacit informant. The researcher may, of course, claim that she is an informant

in her own study, but it must be made clear who the informant is at particular stages in the written research report, because interpretation is a singular act of the ethnographer in most cases. The researcher in the following excerpt is setting the scene for the art history lecture she audited. However, we are given an interpretive narrative wherein the scene is definitely a linguistic construct created by the researcher-as-informant and not the research informant, the student taking the course. Yet the subheading for this section of the book is "Anna in Avant-Garde Art Class." I believe it should read Researcher in Anna's Art History Class.

> I am early for art history class, which begins at four in the afternoon in Paul Arts, the building that houses the music, theater, and art departments. Waiting by the wooden weaving looms outside the lecture room, I observe the students milling around before class, some of them drinking coffee and tea purchased down the hall in the convenient art supply store. Eventually I join them with a cup of hot chocolate. Several students cluster together chatting softly, and although I cannot hear them I see by their dress that they are different: one bearded man in his late twenties has a scarf of rough South American fabric tied around his neck, a style that is seldom imitated on campus; another woman is wearing heavy work boots, splattered with paint, and olive clothing, which seems like a kind of military uniform. I glance down at someone's hands to see two-inch fingernails painted jet black, accompanied by an arm adorned with lovely clanging silver bracelets; when I look up I find hair that's partially dyed pink, gelled straight up from her head. (p. 57)

Ethnography as Construction of Knowledge and Social Power

Ethnography is an historically developed and institutionalized discourse. No matter that we claim narrative, or explanatory narrative, or poetic description as our preferred mode of reporting, ethnographic discourse is not in the domain of natural language or public language, except possibly through the writing of biography, but that genre usually falls into the broad category of realistic literature or literate discourse. Because ethnography has a history it is intertextual; it is derived from, is part of, and borrows from other texts in the academy. Ethnographic studies are situated (not exclusively) in other ethnographic studies, and this accumulation of cultural knowledge affirms ethnographic research findings as legitimate knowledge that in turn can be held up by the sites of ethnographic research (e.g., educational environments such as classrooms) as powerful agents with legitimized knowledge and power.

Because it constructs its own knowledge and empowers its informants through veneration, ethnography may also be the least effective means of critiquing contemporary ideology and practice. A result of ethnography's tendency to organize, construct, and present knowledge that is sympathetic and empathetic with its informants is that it loses its ability as an agent of educational change for those environments and individuals it studies. The ethnography of conferencing in a writing process classroom, one of the studies cited in this article, staunchly validates what it examines, or more rightly, describes and narrates. The ideology of the writing process is uncritically upheld through the veneration of its practice in one classroom. How can one develop a critical stance toward a topic wherein one or more informants have graciously

consented egress? The language of critical theorists is not the language of ethnographers. What we need are critical studies of ethnographies.

The Need for a Critical Approach to Ethnographic Discourse

Now that ethnographic research is becoming firmly established and accepted in education, we need to begin looking carefully at the practices and products of ethnography, including the preparedness of researchers to undertake ethnographic studies. I argue to this point that the ethnographer needs to be critically aware of his or her own use of language, of how language constructs knowledge and text that is different from the data derived from primary sources, including the verbatim words of informants. I suggest too that neophyte ethnographers, including graduate students, may not be fully aware of the rhetorical devices at work in ethnographic discourse and may lay naive claim to narration as the discourse of ethnography. Atkinson (1990) addresses these issues.

> The fully mature ethnography requires a reflexive awareness of its own writing, the possibilities and limits of its own language, and a principled exploration of its modes of representation. Not only do we need to cultivate a self-conscious construction of ethnographic texts, but also a readiness to read texts from a more "literary-critical" perspective. (p. 180)

In a particularly thoughtful and thorough naturalistic study of undergraduate students' writing and thinking in four disciplines, Walvoord and McCarthy (1990) worked from the point of view of what they call the "negotiated we" (p. 45). This technique involved their using coauthored drafts to achieve their aim of a research conversation. They openly acknowledge their concern about cooptation, or "going native." They write that "the danger existed that the outside investigator, Walvoord, might be so drawn into the world views of the discipline-based teachers that their interpretations would too much shape her own" (p. 45). Perhaps the "negotiated we" approach to ethnography, wherein an insider and outsider are collaborative researcher-participants as well as coauthors, presents a model for ethnography that minimizes the tendency toward veneration.

Walvoord's and McCarthy's (1990) method of tackling the textual problems of ethnography is similar to Clifford's (1983) proposal for a dialogic or polyphonic ethnography that includes a number of voices in order to disperse textual authority and to reflect the intersubjective, negotiated construction of ethnographic interpretation. Clifford borrowed the concept of multiple or dialogic voices from Bahktin's (1986) theory of the novel. A different approach has been proposed by Brodkey (1987) who argues for a narrative model of ethnographic knowledge. Her approach is akin to the strategy employed by Woolgar in *Laboratory Life* (Woolgar & Latour, 1979). Woolgar uses a fictional character to tell his story of the way scientists produce knowledge. The fictional character replaces the ethnographer in the scene of writing. Such a strategy would help to overcome narratives overlaid with other discourses as ethnographers struggle to narrate, describe, analyze, and explain in a singular rhetoric. Readers of ethnography may well be spared the likes of such memorable prose as:

> In her major field of study—art history—there's an undercurrent of resistance; the rebel is fighting the scholarship accommodator in an academic dance of virtual energies. As we go into her art class the following semester, we will remember this rebellious voice that is warning Anna of the dangers of the distanced stance toward art. Next frame please. (Chiseri-Strater, 1991, p. 57)

I mention above that biography may be approached as an ethnographic enterprise that employs narration, usually as a secondary genre, to create an engaging biographic account. A recent example of biographic writing illustrates this close relationship between narration and ethnographic biography. In his review of the book *Verdi: A Biography* by Phillips-Matz (1993), Rothstein (1994) tells the reader that

> Ms. Phillips-Matz's account, which is eminently plausible given her evidence, is unfolded with a calm detachment that serves her close devotion to her subject.... She ... has created a narrative that alters accepted understanding of matters both great and small. (p. 3).

It would seem that this biographer was able to use narrative to recreate and interpret the life of her subject, to whom she is devoted as biographer, through calmly detached narrative.

There seems to be no doubt that ethnographic research requires sophisticated research skills as does any systematic and serious method and process of inquiry. Knowledge of the theoretical perspectives underlying ethnography is essential, lest the naive ethnographer believe that ethnography is atheoretical or that theory derives from the study itself. It seems essential, then, that ethnographers be well trained and that they understand ethnography in relation to other qualitative research paradigms including phenomenology. I sense that some ethnographic researchers are confused between ethnography and phenomonology. Osborne (1994) suggests this is the case too.

> In phenomenological research ... there is an attempt on the part of the researcher to allow the data to speak for themselves in spite of the researcher's predispositions.... Although apparently more a priori in its approach, ethnographic research also stresses the importance of allowing the findings of the research to present themselves but through an inductive process. (p. 179)

If ethnography is a priori in its approach, it behooves ethnographers to make clear at the outset of their studies their relationship to the informants, the environment, and the phenomenon of study. As well, if the findings of ethnographic research present themselves to readers inductively, then the language of reporting data and the language of interpretation need to be distinctly different, especially if data are to speak of themselves rather than the researcher.

Ethnography has opened up possibilities for research that traditional research paradigms could hardly imagine, let alone cope with. Lest the reader misconstrue my message, ethnography as a research methodology is not the culprit. In short, my message is that ethnography, coupled with narration as the preferred discourse of reporting, makes analytic and linguistic demands on researchers that are far more rigorous and compelling than the predetermined and narrow constraints of traditional research methodologies. Ethnographers need to be not just solid researchers, but strong writers with a convincing

narrative voice and access to a vocabulary that is able to capture nuances of contexts and situations without usurping the interpretative function of readers.

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Teachers' Views of Parents: Family Decision Making Styles and Teacher-Parent Agreement Regarding Homework Practices and Values

This study examined the possibility that teachers might endorse certain families' patterns in childrearing and in school-home coordination through homework more than those of others. A sample of 12 junior high school teachers and 36 parents of students from the same metropolitan school were interviewed regarding measures of decision making style, factors in student achievement, and the role of parents in helping with homework. Results showed that teachers endorsed an authoritative style of parent-child decision making, and were more congruent with authoritative parents on some aspects of attributions for children's achievement and on specific patterns of homework helping. However, all parents were more positive about their role in homework helping than were teachers. Possible implications of these patterns for teacher-parent interactions are discussed.

Cette étude examine qu'il est possible que les enseignants et les enseignantes puissent promouvoir les tendances et les orientations de certaines familles entre ce qui concerne élever les enfants et coordonner la communication entre le foyer et l'école par l'entremise des devoirs plus que les tendances présentes dans dautres familles. Un échantillon de 12 enseignants et enseignantes du niveau secondaire premier cycle et de 36 parents d'élèves de la même école métropolitaine ont été interrogés sur la façon de prendre des décisions, sur les facteurs qui contribuent au succès des élèves, et sur le rôle des parents qui aident l'enfant à faire ses devoirs. Les résultats indiquent que les enseignants et les enseignantes ont tendance à promouvoir le style autoritaire dans la relation parent-enfant pour les prises de décisions. Pour ce qui en est des devoirs, les résultats semblent être plus congruants avec les parents autoritaires en ce qui concerne certaines raisons attribuées au succès des élèves et certaines idées spécifiques en ce qui concerne aider les enfants avec leurs devoirs. Cependant, tous les parents étaient plus positifs dans leur rôle d'aider l'enfant avec ses devoirs que l'étaient les enseignants et les enseignantes. La possibilité de combiner ces idées pour permettre l'interaction entre les enseignants, les enseignantes, et les parents y est discutée.

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The two central settings for cognitive development in children's lives are the home and the school. How do the participants in these two settings view each other, and what factors influence their perceptions? Although there has been some theory and research on one influential individual difference factor in this context, cultural diversity, the present study focuses on another type of well-documented variability between families, parenting styles and practices (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). It addresses whether variations in such patterns may be related to teachers' views of parenting and school relations in the families of early adolescent students.

Baumrind (1973, 1991) reports a longitudinal study of the childrearing patterns of a sample of families from the preschool to early adolescent years. She describes three major parenting styles, based on two dimensions of parenting, warmth and support on the one hand, and demandingness or structure on the other. Authoritarian parenting is characterized by much structure and high expectations, but little warmth. In contrast, permissiveness as a style might or might not be characterized by warmth, but provides little in the way of structure or expectations of mature behavior. Authoritative parents combine an emphasis on structure and firm rule enforcement with warmth and an expectancy of mature behavior on the part of the child. At each age period studied, Baumrind found that authoritative parenting styles are associated with more social and cognitive competence in children.

This typology has engendered some recent research, particularly on adolescents' social and academic performance in homes characterized by these differing parenting patterns (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). Authoritative styles were associated with the best school outcomes in all these studies, and this did not interact with ethnicity, suggesting that this parenting pattern is relatively advantaged across all groups studied (though, typically, stronger effects of authoritativeness are reported for Euro-American and Hispanic children than for other North American populations studied, Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

These studies of adolescents' personal qualities and outcomes have mainly focused on the child variables (e.g., child's work orientation) associated with the apparent success of authoritative styles in fostering school achievement. To date there has been only limited examination of the specific variations in parent values, beliefs, or behaviors regarding the school that might be linked to more authoritative styles and practices (Paulson, 1994). One important day-to-day link between home and school for older children is homework. Homework has been shown to play an important role in children's achievement (Keith & Page, 1985). In some recent reports it has been shown that variations in adults' parenting styles are associated with differences in homework tutoring patterns, such that more authoritative parents are more effective helpers (Pratt, Green, MacVicar, & Bountrogianni, 1992). In a related finding it has also been shown that parents who perceive themselves as more powerful causal agents with regard to children's school achievement are, plausibly, more likely than others to report assisting children with their homework (Pratt, 1993).

Thus parenting style, as defined by Baumrind (1973, 1991), seems to be clearly linked to children's achievement, as well as to some expectable varia-

tions in parents' views and practices regarding the home and school and especially their coordination through homework. However, a further important issue concerns teachers' views regarding parenting and the coordination of school and home. Some evidence has been gathered regarding teachers' views of parents of varying ethnic backgrounds (Chavkin, 1990). But there has been little study to date of teachers' views regarding appropriate styles and patterns of parenting and of parent cooperation and coordination with the school. The present study was designed to contribute some evidence on this point, as well as to compare teachers' views with variations in those reported by parents with different decision making styles.

A central question here concerns the matter of congruence between teachers and parents. Considerable argument, supported by quite striking observations, is that cultural divergence between teachers and families can interfere with children's schooling in various ways (Chavkin, 1990; Heath, 1983). For example, Heath (1983) showed that differences in linguistic styles and values across subcultures, and their congruence with the styles of teachers, played an important role in children's initial school adaptation. Others have similarly stressed the importance of linguistic dialect discrepancies between home and school, typically associated with ethnicity and class, which may hamper children's school adjustment (Meadows, 1993). One major element in such adjustment difficulty is undoubtedly the role of some teachers' negative attitudes toward such dialectical markers as signs of children's linguistic and cognitive (in)competence (Cazden, 1988).

It seems possible that teachers' values and ideas may be more or less discordant with those parents who exhibit distinctive parenting practices as well, although this question has apparently not been studied. It would seem a plausible hypothesis that an authoritative style of parenting and decision making might more closely resemble teachers' ideal for parents of adolescents in regard to both family process and school involvement. If this is so, it might be that a greater congruence of values between home and school in such families facilitates the coordination of these two central contexts for children's cognitive development. Thus this may be one aspect of the better school achievement associated with growing up in an authoritative family environment noted above. Of course, evidence of teachers' valuing of particular parenting styles could also raise the question of whether there is active discrimination toward children from families with nonoptimal parenting practices as well.

The present study tested the basic congruence question by comparing teachers' views about family and school relations with those of parents of young adolescents whose approaches were characterized by authoritative, authoritarian, or permissive decision making styles (Dornbusch et al., 1985). Thus the present investigation had two objectives: to describe teachers' views of ideal parent-adolescent relations regarding childrearing practices and schooling, and to compare these views with those of parents characterized by different types of family decision making styles.

Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 12 teachers and 36 parents (all but three were mothers) of students from the same urban junior high school in the metropolitan Toronto area. The participating teachers were recruited from the pool of grade 7 and 8 teachers at the school (approximately 30). Teachers were all born and educated in Canada.

The mothers were volunteers from three ethnic backgrounds, Anglo-Saxon, East Indian, and Greek, with equal numbers (12) in each group. In each of the cultural groups six participants were parents of boys and six were parents of girls. Mothers in the ethnic groups were typically first-generation immigrants to Canada who had attained at least a basic level of English and were able to communicate in the language. The children were enrolled in the grades 7 and 8 at the time of the interviews.

Tasks and Measures

Teachers and mothers completed a structured interview including a series of topics: parental decision making styles, ideas and practices regarding homework, and attributions for children's school achievement. Each of these topic areas is described below.

Parent decision making style measure. Our interview measure of family decision making was adapted from Dornbusch et al. (1985). Parents were asked about decision making practices regarding eight family issues, for example, choosing friends, clothes, spending money, watching television. For each item parents reported whether the issue was decided by: parents alone (authoritarian pattern), child alone (permissive pattern), or jointly by parent and child with discussion (authoritative pattern), following the procedures of Dornbusch et al. (1985). Decision making style was then characterized on the basis of the pattern of responses provided across the eight issues (each style could score from 0-8). Teachers were asked to report how a parent *should* handle decision making with a young adolescent around these same issues. Teachers' scores were obtained in the same manner as scores from parents.

General homework attitudes and practices. Teachers were asked five questions: if parents helped in their school, the frequency with which parents should help their children with homework, how parents feel when they are helping, the value that parents place on homework, and whether they personally have discussed homework issues with parents. Parents were asked the first four of these questions also, thus enabling direct comparisons between the parent and teacher groups. Cohen's kappas on 3-point scales for these items were all above .70.

Specific homework practices. Teachers and parents were asked about the specific homework practices that they used ("should use" for teachers) to help the child with mathematics homework, and about how they handled situations when the child was frustrated or refused to do homework. These three interview responses were content-coded for the number of mentions of various types of techniques and strategies. Nine categories were mentioned by 10% or more of the parents and teachers. An index of "good supervision" was created to summarize these patterns, weighting homework structuring and homework monitoring behaviors as positive, weighting giving the child the solutions,

threats, blaming the child and no response or no help as negative, and scoring mentions of discussion, referral to others, and direct tutoring as neutral (because the quality of these three behaviors could not be clearly specified from parents' oral reports). The correlation between two raters for scores on our summary tutoring index was $r(22) = .94$ for a sample of 24 transcripts.

Specific attributions for children's school achievement. Parents and teachers were both asked to attribute causes for children's school performance in six distinct academic areas: English, math, science, history/social studies, music or art, and physical education. The attributional choices included four categories, modeled after Hess, Chi-Mei, and McDevitt (1987): child ability, child effort, school/teacher factors, and home factors. The most important and next most important influences were selected for each school subject. The number of subject areas for which a cause was mentioned was obtained for both parents and teachers, so that scores could range from 0-6 for each cause.

Procedure

Parents were interviewed individually in their homes by a graduate student. Teachers were interviewed individually at school by the same student during nonclassroom time. The interviews took approximately 30-40 minutes to complete and included some additional topics regarding schooling not relevant to the present focus on homework.

Results and Discussion

Perceptions of Ideal Parenting Styles

Teachers and parents both responded to questions regarding decisions about eight family issues. Teachers were asked about the ideal pattern of family decision making for junior high students and parents, whereas parents reported on their own family style. Decision making style categorizations were established on the basis of the most frequently chosen pattern (of the three choices of child-alone, parent-alone, joint parent-child). This resulted in the classification of 14 parents as authoritative across the sample, 11 as permissive, and 11 as authoritarian. For teachers, 11 were classified as authoritative, whereas one was classified as authoritarian. Clearly the authoritative pattern is more common for teachers as an ideal than for parents in practice overall, chi-square = 8.04, (1, N=48), p<.01.

Table 1 shows the mean scores across the eight items for teachers and for the three parenting style groups in the sample. A Parent Decision Style/Teacher Group (4) MANOVA on the three patterns revealed a significant Group X Measure interaction effect, Pillai-Bartlett Trace $V(6,88)$=19.43, p<.001. There was also a significant measures effect, Pillai-Bartlett Trace $V(2,43) = 5.54$, p<.01, which reflected the fact that parent-only decisions were less common than all others across the sample (see Table 1).

Follow-up univariate analyses on each of the interview measures revealed that permissive parents were significantly more likely than all others to report child-only decisions, $F(3,44)$=16.33, p<.01. Scheffe tests at the .01 level confirmed that this group differed from teachers and from authoritarian and authoritative parents; these latter three groups did not differ from each other. Parent-only decisions were more likely to be reported by authoritarian parents, $F(3,44) = 20.78$, p<.01. Scheffe tests confirmed that this group differed from all

Table 1
Decision Making Profile Means by Teacher and Parent Style Groups, and by Parent Ethnic Group

	Decision Making Style		
	Child-Only	*Parent-Only*	*Joint*
Parent Style Group			
Authoritative Parents	2.50	1.86	3.64
Permissive Parents	4.64	1.91	1.45
Authoritarian Parents	2.18	4.09	1.73
Teachers	1.92	0.83	5.25
Unweighted Means	2.81	2.17	3.02
Parent Ethnic Group			
Anglo Parents	3.58	1.67	2.75
East Indian Parents	2.92	2.92	2.17
Greek Parents	2.67	3.08	2.25

others, and that none of the other groups differed from each other at $p<.01$. Finally, joint parent-child decisions were more common for both authoritative parents and for teachers, $F(3,44) = 26.75$, $p<.01$. Scheffe tests at the .01 level showed that teachers and authoritative parents did not differ from one another, whereas each of these groups differed from the authoritarian and permissive groups (see Table 1).

The results of these analyses are unsurprising, given that the parental decision making style groups were in fact established on the basis of this criterion measure. However, the analyses do reveal that teachers' ideals for parent-child decision making resembled the authoritative pattern most closely in stressing the importance of joint decision making in families of early adolescents. Inspection of teachers' responses by specific issue indicated that joint decision making was the ideal for all of the eight issues except for choosing clothes and after-school activities, for which child control was somewhat more commonly recommended.

For comparison purposes, means for the three ethnic groups of parents are also shown in Table 1. There were no differences between these three groups on any of the three decision making style measures in an overall MANOVA. Thus differences in parents' reports of practices are not strongly linked to ethnic variation in this urban junior high school sample, although it must be acknowledged that these samples are small and provide low power for tests of subcultural differences.

General Ideas Regarding Homework and Parenting

Teachers and parents were asked if parents helped in their school, how often parents should help, how parents feel when they are helping with homework, and how much parents value their children having homework. Only one of the 12 teachers reported that parents helped children with homework in any useful way. Some mentioned that parents' efforts probably hindered children:

> I think most parents get so emotional about it, they get so upset when their children don't understand something. They have very little patience and very little understanding about how to teach something, and the overall effect of their help is probably negative in most cases ... They're too emotional and as a result, they're very destructive in the process.

In comparison, more than half of the parents believed that other parents in the school helped their children with homework, and this did not vary by decision making style group substantially (see Table 2). Small cell sizes prevent a statistical analysis of overall parent versus teacher differences utilizing a chi-square statistic, but they are clear on inspection.

Both parents and teachers discussed how often parents should help, with the options being "on a regular basis," or "only when asked." The percentage of parents and teachers who felt that helping should take place on a regular basis is shown in Table 2.

Small cell sizes prevent an overall test of these differences, but teachers were clearly more skeptical of the amount of helping that parents should engage in than were parents themselves.

Both parents and teachers were asked how parents feel when they help their child with homework, rated on a 1-3 scale. The means for these ratings are shown in Table 2. As can be seen, teachers generally perceived that parents enjoyed this less than parents themselves actually reported. A Parent Decision Style Group/Teachers (4) one-way ANOVA on these ratings revealed only a borderline effect, $F(3,43) = 2.50$, $p=.07$. Follow-up Scheffe tests revealed no significant differences between groups at the .05 level. However, a contrast testing the differences between the three parents groups combined and teachers was significant, $t(45)=2.79$, $p<.01$. Many teachers' comments echoed one who said:

> I think most parents haven't got the education to help the kids, even at a low level, because they haven't covered the topics that are being covered today ... They don't really know the answers so I don't think they feel confident in helping.

When asked how much parents valued homework, most teachers (8 of 10 whose responses could be coded) reported that parents wanted children to

Table 2
General Attitude Means and Percentages Regarding Homework Helping by Parent-Teacher Groups

	Help Regularly	*Should Regularly*	*Enjoy Helping*[a]	*Homework Valuable*
Authoritative Parents	57%	72%	2.14	100%
Permissive Parents	64%	45%	2.18	100%
Authoritarian Parents	45%	91%	2.10	100%
Teachers	9%	36%	1.42	80%

[a]Rated on a 1-3 scale, "not at all" to "a lot."

have regular homework, although they were sometimes skeptical of parents' reasons:

> I think [parents value homework] too much in the wrong way. I think a lot of parents look at homework because they did a lot of homework, which was a lot of rote type of material ... I get the feeling that more often than not they want the traditional type of homework rather than the idea of projects, long-term assignments, which is what we are trying to do more of.

As can be seen in Table 2, all parents in all decision making style groups reported that they felt that homework had considerable value. Finally, about half of the teachers reported that they discussed homework with parents regularly (6 of 11), although most of the others indicated that they thought this was a good idea, and were considering doing it in the future.

Teachers and parents thus seemed to differ considerably in their perceptions of homework, with parents generally more positive about their role in helping with it and their enjoyment of that role. In general, this divergence between teachers and parents appeared to cut across the three parenting groups (see Table 2). There were no significant differences among parents in parallel analyses by ethnic group regarding these homework issues either. Teachers clearly seemed to have something of a negative stereotype about how parents and children experienced and used homework. However, a number of the teachers remarked that they would like to work more closely with parents on homework issues, and most did acknowledge the importance of homework in parents' values.

Specific Parental Help with Homework

Teachers and parents were asked more specifically how parents help ("should help" for teachers) their children with homework, and then how they would handle a situation where the child did not want to do homework, and one where the child was frustrated. The responses given were coded into nine categories, and then weighted and summed across the three interview items to provide an index of Good Helping, based on the principles of effective tutoring. This self-report index for parents correlated r=.42, p<.05, with observers' ratings of parents' actual tutoring in a separate homework session (Pratt, Hunsberger, Pancer, Roth, & Santolupo, 1993), providing some indication of its construct validity.

A Parent Decision Group/Teachers (4) ANOVA on this index indicated a significant effect, $F(3,43) = 8.49$, p<.01. Means were –.64, –.36, .43, and 1.45, for permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative parent groups, and for teachers respectively. Follow-up Scheffe tests revealed that teachers differed from permissive (p<.01) and authoritarian (p<.01) decision style parents, but not from authoritative parents. Means for a parallel Parent Ethnic Group/Teachers (4) ANOVA were –.66, .50, –.17, and 1.45 for Anglo, East Indian, and Greek parents and teachers respectively. Follow-up Scheffe contrasts on this analysis revealed significant differences between teachers and both Anglo and Greek parents at the .01 level.

Thus teachers were shown to endorse an effective tutoring style on this rationally constructed index; parents who used an authoritative, joint decision making style resembled them the most on this measure, compared with other

parent style groups. Almost all the teachers mentioned structuring the child's environment or time (83%), and many mentioned monitoring homework assignments and completion (43%), the two positive strategies in our index. In contrast, the negative strategies (giving solutions, threats, blaming the child, and no response/no help) were never mentioned as positive by teachers, and were explicitly proscribed by several of them. Discussion and direct tutoring were also mentioned fairly often by teachers (33% and 43%, respectively). Overall, then, teachers' responses regarding how parents should help closely resembled the ideal pattern established here for parent tutoring, providing support for this index of good homework helping. And teachers' prescriptions most closely resembled authoritative parents' reports of what they actually did in helping with homework.

Attribution Patterns for Student Performance

As noted in the introduction, a previous analysis of attributional patterns of parents in another investigation indicated that more extensive homework helping was consistently linked to a feeling of more responsibility for children's school achievement (Pratt, 1993). In an earlier report on the parents in this sample (Pratt & Sebastian, 1989), we indicated that there were no ethnic group differences in parents' attributions for children's school performance in this immigrant multicultural setting, contrary to some previous work with cross-cultural samples (e.g., Hess et al., 1987). However, an analysis of parent decision making style variations (based on the classifications determined above) indicated that authoritative parents were indeed more likely to attribute school performance to the home than were other groups (Pratt & Sebastian, 1989).

In the present analysis we assessed differences among teachers and our three parent decision making style groups in patterns of attribution to home, school, effort, and ability factors. Table 3 shows the means for these analyses.

A Parent Decision Style/Teacher Group (4) MANOVA on the four attribution factors of ability, effort, teacher, and home influences on school performance revealed a significant Group X measures interaction, Pillai-Bartlett Trace $V(9,132)=5.19$, $p<.001$. There was also a significant measures effect, Pillai-Bartlett Trace $V(3,42)=8.71$, $p<.001$, due to lower attribution to the home overall than to all other factors (see Table 3).

Follow-up one-way univariate Group (4) ANOVAs were conducted on each of the attribution factors to examine the interaction above. These revealed no

Table 3
School Performance Attribution Means by Parent-Teacher Groups

	Attribution Factor			
	Ability	*Effort*	*Teacher*	*Home*
Authoritative Parents	1.57	3.64	4.29	2.00
Permissive Parents	3.18	3.55	4.45	0.36
Authoritarian Parents	3.45	3.64	3.18	0.73
Teachers	2.75	2.33	1.17	3.75
Unweighted Means	2.74	3.29	3.27	1.71

significant effects for either ability or for effort attribution means. The group differences for school/teacher attribution were significant, however, $F(3,44) = 10.07$, $p<.001$. Scheffe tests indicated that teachers differed from authoritative and permissive parent styles at the .01 level, but not from authoritarian parents. Teachers viewed their own influence on student performance as lower than did all parent groups (see Table 3). There was also a significant effect for home attributions, $F(3,44) = 8.99$, $p<.001$. Scheffe tests indicated that teachers differed from both permissive and authoritarian groups of parents at the .01 level in seeing the home's influence as more important, but did not differ from authoritative parents.

These results suggest a clear tendency for parents and teachers each to view the other group as more responsible for children's achievement. One interpretation of this finding might be in terms of the phenomenon of actor-observer effects in social psychology (e.g., Fiske & Taylor, 1991). In many situations, the causal role of the other person has been shown to be much more salient than one's own role as an "actor." This difference could also be due to defensively motivated, self-serving biases, such that one avoids taking responsibility for children's problems if these are particularly salient in the attribution context (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). A recent study demonstrated that parents who were less satisfied with children's progress did attribute academic problems less to their own childrearing practices than did those parents who were more satisfied (Himelstein, Graham, & Weiner, 1991).

More investigation of this difference between teachers and parents is needed. Note, however, that teachers were found more closely to resemble parents with a joint, authoritative decision style in their tendency to attribute more responsibility for school performance to the home. In fact, teachers often stressed the essential role of parents in influencing school achievement in many ways. For example:

> I think they [parents] have a lot of influence ... There's the whole level of expectation of the parent. I live in a rural area where parents are really excited when a kid finishes high school and that is the goal. There are very few kids that go on after high school. They've set that level of expectation. And some parents make that mistake—like I'm a ditchdigger so you won't be—but they never go back to school to upgrade so the kid never gets the feeling that they have to be anything better ... And the whole level of attitudinal support is really the parent's responsibility.

Conclusion

The present study had two objectives: to describe junior high school teachers' views on parent decision making styles and parent-school relations, and to see if there was a tendency for these views to be most congruent with those of parents characterized by a more authoritative pattern of parenting adolescents. The results suggest that teachers often differed considerably from all parents in their views about schooling and the home. Nevertheless, they did tend to agree more closely with authoritative parents than with others in several spheres, including ideal family decision making styles, ideals about specific parent homework assistance, and ideas about the causal role of the home in school achievement.

Thus, according to teachers, parents should provide joint decision making opportunities to adolescents, can be most helpful through structuring homework situations and monitoring performance on homework assignments, and should see themselves as having a relatively substantial impact on the child's school achievement. In all these domains teachers in the present study seemed to share with parents with a more authoritative decision making pattern a model of the family and its appropriate modes of coordination with the school. As noted above, greater emphasis on the parent's role in school achievement has been shown to be closely linked to more active homework helping patterns by mothers (Pratt, 1993). However, teachers in the present investigation tended to differ sharply from all parents in terms of opinions about the utility of homework helping in seeing this as a less valuable focus for parent engagement than did parents themselves.

Clearly it is appropriate to be cautious in regard to the generalizability of these findings. The sample of teachers and parents was drawn from a single school system, and sample sizes were quite small. Nevertheless, there was nothing to indicate that this junior high school was in any way atypical of other schools in such urban, multicultural settings. Of course, the investigation needs further replication in other contexts. However, it is notable that teachers' discrepancies with nonauthoritative styles of parenting, and greater agreement with those with authoritative decision making patterns, tended to cut across ethnic variations. This is consistent with the evidence that authoritative parenting is relatively advantaged in relation to children's school achievement across various ethnic groups (Dornbusch et al., 1987), although it is certainly the case that these advantages are stronger for some subcultures than for others (e.g., Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

The finding that teachers tended to be more congruent on several dimensions with those parents with an authoritative decision making style raises an interesting value question. With regard to ethnic diversity, it is of course appropriate to argue for the importance of tolerance and teacher understanding of all parents. However, with respect to variations in parenting patterns, this situation is not so clear. There is considerable evidence, as reviewed above, that authoritative styles are associated with better school achievement and social adjustment in children generally (e.g., Dornbusch et al., 1987; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994).

On the other hand, parents who prefer to utilize different socialization approaches surely ought to have considerable latitude to do so, hopefully without their children suffering negative consequences in the school system due to potential teacher bias. Furthermore, there is also evidence that certain parenting styles may be differentially appropriate to different subcultural niches. For example, a more authoritarian pattern may be more appropriate to families rearing children in high-risk social environments (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). As noted in the introduction, there is considerable evidence that teacher bias in the area of ethnic or social class background has deleterious consequences for children's school careers (Rist, 1970). Investigation of whether the attitude and value discrepancies between less authoritative parents and teachers found in this research are actually translated into specific

teacher attitudes and behaviors directed toward students or their families (particularly those from different subcultures) is badly needed.

The findings with respect to the homework views of teachers and parents are particularly noteworthy, as homework appears to have considerable positive benefits for student achievement (Keith, Reimers, Fehrmann, Pottebaum, & Aubey, 1986). In early adolescence, homework activities specifically involving the parent seem to be of value (Leone & Richards, 1989). The views of teachers in the present study were decidedly inconsistent with this evidence, however. Although teachers were open to talking with parents about homework issues, they were certainly not as enthusiastic as parents about home participation in these activities. Clearly more consideration needs to be given to this important teacher-parent discrepancy and its possible impact on children's school achievement.

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Expectations Held for Department Heads in Postsecondary Institutions

Current changes in mission, mandate, organizational structure, funding, and student demographics evident in postsecondary institutions reinforce a general recognition of the importance of capable departmental leadership. This study examined managerial, academic leadership, and politician/advocate roles of department heads in a community college, a technical institute, and a university in Alberta. Information regarding commonalities and differences in activities, personal traits, and administrative skills perceived relevant to these roles was obtained from interviews (20) and questionnaires (160 respondents—deans, incumbent department heads, and faculty association executive members). The findings revealed substantial variation among roles for the three types of institutions and the need for administrative skill development appropriate to different stages of service. In addition, the need emerged for a greater understanding of role functions by senior administrators, department heads themselves, and particularly by those who provide preservice and inservice education for department heads.

Les changements récents dans les domaines de la mission, du mandat, de la structure organisationelle, de financement, et de statistiques démographiques des étudiant(e)s sont évidents dans les institutions postsecondaires. Ces changements confirment l'importance déjà connue d'un leadership de qualité au sein d'un département. Dans cette étude on examina les rôles des cadres, du leadership académique, et les rôles politiques des chefs de département dans un collège communautaire, un institut polytechnique, et une université en Alberta. L'information concernant les points communs et les différences d'activités, les traits personnels, et les habilités administratives perçus comme étant pertinents à ces rôles a été obtenue d'entrevues (20) et de questionnaires (160 répondant(e)s—doyens et doyennes, nouveaux et nouvelles chefs de département, et des membres des comités exécutifs des associations de faculté). Les résultats de la recherche indiquent une variation importante parmi les rôles des trois sortes d'institutions et un besoin de développer les habilités administratives appropriées aux différents stages de service. En plus a ressorti le besoin d'une meilleure compréhension des fonctions des rôles des administrateurs supérieurs et des administratices supérieures, des chefs de département eux-mêmes et elles-mêmes, et particulièrement des responsables des services de formation pédagogique pour les chefs de département.

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Introduction

It is widely recognized that higher education is a complex and unique administrative domain. Clark (1983) asserts that the higher education system is fraught with

> inordinate and uncommon complexity ... [and] to understand that complexity much better than we currently do requires that we retreat somewhat from general theorizing across the major organized sectors of society [or institutions] and concentrate on analysis of particular realms. But to begin from the assumption of other sectors is to misperceive and underestimate the unusual parts in the mixture of the common and the unique. (p. 276)

He adds that "growing complexity increases our uncertainty" and that an understanding of expectations will enhance our potential to find or develop new means of dealing with common problems (p. 270). The academic department is such a complex realm and the department head is an often "misperceived and underestimated" part.

The perception of department heads (department chairs, program coordinators) as generic office holders with responsibilities that vary little, regardless of the institution or discipline, is not uncommon. Such a perception seems incongruous given differences among the missions and mandates of institutions of higher education. This article reports findings from a recent study that explored the extent to which expectations held for departmental leaders varied in three different types of institutions in Alberta. Different sources of expectations were identified and studied in order to identify institutional variations. A comprehensive and generic model of department head activities, traits, skills, and institutional factors was developed that allows comparisons to be made across disciplinary and institutional boundaries. Furthermore, identification of differences in expectations can be of value in the selection, administrative development, and evaluation of administrative performance of postsecondary department heads.

Role Expectations

Located at the point of product delivery, department heads are the "interface" with central administrators on behalf of faculty and with faculty on behalf of administrators. Tucker (1992) states that the generic purpose of department heads is to "provide leadership to the faculty and at the same time to supervise the translation of institutional goals and policies into academic practice" (p. vi). The forward-looking focus demanded by institutional imperatives and the inertia of academe often generates a push-pull dynamic that creates a need for department heads to perform different roles in the service of administration versus faculty interests. These imperatives describe a position fraught with role ambiguity and potential for conflict among the many expectations held for administrative behavior. Eley (1994) considers that the current role of United Kingdom university department heads is substantially different from what it was in the 1960s and 1970s.

Contributing to the complexity of the position is the assertion by some scholars that much of the decision making in postsecondary institutions occurs at the departmental level. In a pioneering but still frequently cited study, Heimler (1967) estimated that 80% of all administrative decisions occur at this

level. Within departments there is a great potential for competing demands. Bragg (1981) contended that department heads have a daunting task of collating formal or overt expectations, transmitted from job descriptions and mission statements, with the informal or covert expectations transmitted through peer attitudes and departmental climate. Tucker (1992) observed that "department heads are drawn from faculty ranks and have had, at best, very little administrative experience" (p. 27). Given the demands and their limited experience, department heads can be viewed as somewhat disadvantaged. A central difficulty, particularly for new department heads, is sorting out what is needed from what is wanted. The UK *Jarratt Report* (Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, 1985) considers that university department heads should be good managers as well as distinguished academics, with priority being given to managerial capability.

Several role typologies and taxonomies of duties and responsibilities of department heads have been promoted, with that compiled by Tucker (1992) being a widely recognized standard (Baker, 1993). Different arrangements of duties by many experts invariably focus on management, academic, and developmental dimensions of the position (Bragg, 1981; Creswell, Wheeler, Seagren, Egly, & Beyer, 1990; Gmelch, 1992; Moses & Roe, 1990; Moxley & Olson, 1990). Of these, management and academic leadership are traditional roles of department heads. The developmental dimension is cited by Bennett (1983) as an inherently political orientation often focused on advocating departmental initiatives and cultivating relationships and networks. In the current climate of fiscal restraint and critical public scrutiny of postsecondary institutions, developing and expanding networks is necessary.

Demands related to the various dimensions, duties, and responsibilities of the position of department head have been scrutinized by scholars to ascertain the specific traits and skills needed for their performance. For example, a study of Australian university chairs conducted by Lonsdale and Bardsley (1984) identified several inservice training needs. In the early 1980s, major contributions were made by Tucker (1983, 1984) and Bennett (1983) to inservice training of department heads under the auspices of the American Council on Education. More recently, Moses and Roe (1990) outlined several areas of skill development for university department heads in Australia that include peer skills, leadership skills, conflict-resolution skills, information processing skills, decision making skills, resource-allocation skills, and entrepreneurial skills. Although worthy of citation, these studies focus on a single institutional type, and as such provide a limited view of postsecondary department heads.

Many of the foundation role studies of department heads used approaches that can best be described as quantitative or positivistic. This particularly applies to those studies that relied solely on numerical responses to questionnaire items. Authors such as Bensimon, Neumann, and Birnbaum (1989) and Roueche, Baker, and Rose (1989) recommended that a more qualitative approach to this type of study is now desirable.

A study of department heads in different postsecondary contexts by examining roles, activities, related traits, and skills using both quantitative and qualitative approaches was warranted. Such a study required a definitional framework that would be applicable across disciplinary and institutional

boundaries. *Role*, although a common term, is variously applied. Heiss (1981) commented that the "disparate, confusing and arbitrary" use of this term is a significant problem associated with the concept of roles (p. 94). However, an operating definition can be credited to Zurcher (1983) who considers roles as behavioral "should-do's" and expectations as institutionalized shared understandings of roles.

Other key terms associated with roles require working definitions. For example, Biddle (1979) defines *position* as "a designation familiar to those in a subject population" (p. 395). Subsumed by this definition are categories of behaviors that have a narrower focus. These behaviors or *functions* were defined by Biddle as "goal-related results of behavior" (p. 389). An interpretation of Biddle's definition of activities are behaviors that may be characteristic of more than one role and function. For example, planning activities are equally applicable to financial management, personnel development, and curriculum design. How these framework terms were applied in this study is manifest in the questionnaire design as exemplified in the format used in Table 1; activities are listed under function categories by role.

Method

The main research question was as follows: To what extent do expectations for department heads differ among types of postsecondary institutions in Alberta? Three different types of institutions agreed to participate in the study: a community college, a technical institute, and a university. These institutions were chosen because they would foster the greatest potential for comparison of behavioral expectations. Furthermore, it was anticipated that the study would show areas of similarity among department heads in the three institutions.

Sample

All three institutions are located in an urban setting. However, each serves different student markets, has a distinct academic mission, and a unique history. The university and the institute were founding pillars of the postsecondary system in Alberta, becoming operational in 1908 and 1916. From 1916 to 1982 the institute was directly administered by the government, whereas the university had a board of governors. In 1970 the community college was established with a board of governors. The institute was realigned in 1982 with a board governance model. Although now all are board-governed, some current differences in governance, administrative structure, and practice among the three institutions are worthy of note.

The university has a board of governors, a general faculties council (which makes academic policy decisions, in some cases subject to board approval), and a senate (which serves as a link between the community and the university). In contrast, the college and the institute have boards of governors and academic councils, but no senates. The academic councils in Alberta's postsecondary institutions vary in the degree of authority they possess with respect to approval of academic matters.

The institute and the college, although similarly structured and in some ways imitative of the university's governance and administrative structure, exhibit differences in practice. Differences in mission, student demographics, and history have shaped many of their institutional norms. This study dealt

with manifestations of these norms at the departmental level, in particular those related to department heads, such as the titles given to first-line administrators. The collegial title *department chair*, common to both the college and university, contrasts with the authoritarian impression generated by *program coordinator* or *director* and the generic label *academic manager* used by the technical institute. Although perhaps a superficial example, titles can generate differences in expectations held for administrative behavior. In fact, several interview comments identified the *academic manager* title and the still prevalent controlling *management* ethos as residues of the period when the institute was governed directly by the provincial government.

Despite these differences, some isomorphism exists among the three institutions. This is attributable to their involvement with the same transfer and outreach programs; similar reliance on provincial operations, capital funding, and student support programs; and educational background and experience of their administrators. In order to acquire an overview of the expectations influenced by these similar and dissimilar aspects, three constituent groups were surveyed in each institution: deans, incumbent department heads, and faculty association executive members. This latter constituent group was chosen because it represented a relatively expert, broadly representative, and institution-wide perspective.

Instruments

Development of the survey questionnaire and interview guide was assisted by a series of preliminary interviews, a review of pertinent literature, and thorough pilot testing of their content and formats. The preliminary interviews were conducted with a vice-president (academic), two deans, and two department heads.

Questionnaires were sent to all deans, incumbent department chairs, and faculty association executive members. They were requested to indicate the importance ("not important," "fairly important," "very important," or "essential") that they placed on various role-specific activities, traits, skills, and institutional factors. Samples of the questionnaire are included in the Appendix. The 160 responses (66.7%) obtained were as follows: community college (35), institute (50), and university (75). Of these responses 20 were from deans, 17 from faculty association executive members, and 123 from incumbent chairs. Interviews were conducted with 17 department chairs from different academic divisions and with one vice-president (academic) or associate vice-president (academic) in each institution.

Analyses of the survey data and content analysis of open-ended responses and interview data were performed and are reported in this article. The comments included have been slightly paraphrased where necessary to improve readability without altering meaning. This article does not address in detail the matter of authority attributed to different roles.

Follow-up Interviews

Follow-up interviews were intended to provide a personalized view of issues and to allow for necessary clarification of responses to the questionnaire responses. They were conducted with a purposive sample of 17 department chairs, two vice-presidents (academic), and one associate vice-president

(academic). All department chairs interviewed were identified by the written authorization indicated on returned reply pages distributed with each questionnaire.

Document Sources

Pertinent information was extracted from documents related to department chairs from the institutions and other sources. These documents were primarily used to provide background information and were not analyzed for content.

Reliability and Validity

Maguire (1990) asserts that "validity of method is not merely a matter of technique properly applied, it is an aid to credibility" (p. 298). In this study efforts were made to promote credibility by clarifying the problem through preliminary interviews, a review of relevant literature, and piloting the design and content of the instruments.

The sample chosen for this study, although largely purposive, nevertheless may justify some claim to transferability to other postsecondary institutions, if only in the same postsecondary system. However, the descriptive character of this study greatly limited any guarantee of replication of the findings. The carefully conceived nature of the research instruments and their rigorous application generated a measure of reliability.

An attempt was made to reduce undue researcher bias and influence during data collection. This was of particular importance because the researcher had previous experience as a department head in the postsecondary domain. With this concern in mind, feedback on the preliminary analysis of questionnaire responses was obtained during interviews. The use of verbatim quotations from interviews and information from institutional documents aided in establishing the validity of the findings.

Findings

Given the purpose of examining the extent of differences in expectations for department head administrative behavior, only substantial differences—15% or greater—between any pair of aggregate or frequency distribution response percentages are reported. This criterion was met by 46 items out of 78 (59%). These aggregate percentages consisted of "very important" and "essential" responses, which are the percentages shown in Tables 1-5.

Roles and Activities

In this section the responses for activities categorized under each of the roles are presented.

Managerial role. Responses generally indicated comparatively higher expectations in financial and control activities for institute department heads. The college respondents, however, placed more importance on operations and communication activities. From the financial management activities shown in Table 1, nearly identical percentages were obtained from the university (76%) and college (77%) for budget development and the same percentage (79%) for budget control. However, the percentages from the institute respondents were 98% and 96% for these two activities. A similar pattern emerged for the percentages obtained for the operations management activity of monitoring, with

Table 1
Aggregate Percentages of "Very Important" and "Essential" Ratings of Selected Department Head Activities, Classified by Role, That Showed Substantial Differentiation

Roles and activities	*College* %	*Institute* %	*University* %
Managerial			
Financial management			
Budget development	77	98	76
Budget control	79	96	79
Operations management			
Monitoring	65	82	66
Scheduling	91	63	51
Information dissemination	94	90	60
Academic leadership			
Program activities			
Curricular (design and delivery)	89	64	80
Personal academic activities			
Teaching	94	58	70
Research	33	28	86
Writing	46	35	76
Consulting	48	50	30
Professional affiliations	82	67	4
Politician/advocate			
Public relations activities			
Business community	59	92	33
Internal committee activities			
Collective bargaining	48	58	19
Salary and promotion	65	61	94
External activities			
Professional associations	90	75	51
Government programs	45	76	40
Corporate initiatives	50	71	36

Notes: 1. The numbers for each institution in each of Tables 1-5 were College (35), Institute (50), and University (75).
2. "Substantial differentiation" means that any one pair of responses differed by 15% or more.
3. See question 10 in Appendix.

the institute (82%) showing marked differentiation from the college (65%) and the university (66%).

Wider differences were recorded for scheduling, with the college (91%) providing the higher percentage compared with the institute (63%) and the university (51%). College (94%) and university (60%) responses showed a similar difference for information dissemination.

One respondent considered that the "dean's directives influence [department heads'] operations as a manager in resource areas." The reference to reduced authority was reinforced by another department head who concluded that "little scope [exists] for discretion within budgets ... largely a pro forma exercise within the unit." However, another emphasized an evolving aspect of the role: "responsibilities of department heads have changed dramatically in the past 5-7 years; financial management and personnel management are now very important." This was reinforced by the statement that "the chair's role is chiefly personnel management."

Academic leadership role. Marked differences were evident in the programming function of this role and in expectations for personal academic performance. Of the program activities curriculum design and delivery provided the largest percentage difference between the college (89%) and the institute (64%).

Also, several striking differences emerged among the personal academic activities of department heads. Teaching received a substantially higher response from the college (94%) than from either the institute (58%) or the university (70%). Likewise, the college registered a higher percentage (82%) for maintaining professional affiliations compared with the institute (67%) or the university (47%). Not surprisingly, percentages obtained from the university for research (86%) and writing (76%) were considerably higher than those obtained from either the institute (28% and 35%) or the college (33% and 46%). By contrast, consulting received a higher response percentage from the institute (50%) and the college (48%) than from the university (30%).

One university department head observed, "it is difficult for any chair to provide academic leadership to all disciplines in a department with varied program content." Another considered that "faculty members need to feel credibility in a chair's teaching ability." With respect to program, one university respondent stated that department heads must "ensure standards, especially in professional disciplines where response to accrediting agencies, field placement, and job market is key."

Politician/advocate role. The percentages obtained for politician/advocate activities showed some of the greatest differences. For example, public relations efforts focused on the business community received a substantially higher percentage from the institute (92%) than from the college (59%) and especially from the university (33%). Department head committee advocacy related to salary and promotion showed a similar, although opposite, percentage difference between the university (94%) compared with the college (65%) and the institute (61%). Collective bargaining advocacy, on the other hand, was a higher expectation for institute department heads (58%) than for those from the university (19%). Several department head advocacy and promotion activities external to their institutions were accorded substantially different percentages. For example, liaison with professional associations was considered very important or essential by more college (90%) than institute (75%) or university (51%) respondents. However, higher percentages were obtained for advocacy efforts focused on government programs and corporate initiatives from the institute (76% and 71%) compared with the college (45% and 50%) or the university (40% and 36%). An interesting comment was, "I suspect the

politician/advocate was a surprise role for many new chairs ... it is neglected at your peril."

Personal Traits and Administrative Skills

Many percentages obtained with respect to the importance of personality traits and administrative skills were either identical or similar for the combined responses of "very important" and "essential." For example, percentages of 89% or greater were obtained from all three institutions for being trustworthy, being collaborative, and being decisive. Similarly, communication, problem solving, and time management received 92% or greater responses as very important or essential administrative skills. However, two traits and one skill that are frequently cited as crucial to administrators in the 1990s—being a risk taker, being entrepreneurial, and being computer literate—garnered strikingly different and generally lower percentages (see Table 2). The combined "very important" and "essential" percentages accorded these traits and skills were lowest for the university sector. Specifically, "being a risk taker" was seen to be "very important" and "essential" by 81% of college respondents but only by 48% of university respondents. The following two comments apply to all department heads regardless of type of institution:

> One must be trusted, respected by colleagues, and action oriented.
>
> Working with various groups, in and out of the department, to solve problems and coordinate action are critical responsibilities, and a sense of humor helps in survival.

The responses about the importance of personal traits and administrative skills were also analyzed by type of role. In general, Table 3 includes much lower percentages of "very important" and "essential" responses regarding nearly all personal traits and administrative skills in relation to the politician/advocate role as compared with the other two roles. Of particular interest are the extremely large differences between the percentages obtained for administrative skills relative to the managerial role compared with the politi-

Table 2
Aggregate Percentages of "Very Important" and "Essential" Ratings of Selected Personal Traits and Administrative Skills of Department Heads That Showed Substantial Differentiation

Personal traits and administrative skills	*College* %	*Institute* %	*University* %
Personal traits			
Being a risk taker	81	68	48
Being entrepreneurial	60	70	51
Administrative skill			
Computer literacy	53	58	39

Notes: 1. "Substantial differentiation" means that any one pair of responses differed by 15% or more.
2. See question 16 in Appendix.

Table 3
Percentage Frequency Distributions of Selected Personal Traits and Administrative Skills of Department Heads Rated as Being Crucial to Different Roles

Personal traits and administrataive skills	*Managerial role*			*Academic leader role*			*Politician/ advocate role*		
	Coll. %	*Inst. %*	*Univ. %*	*Coll. %*	*Inst. %*	*Univ. %*	*Coll. %*	*Inst. %*	*Univ. %*
Personal traits									
Being trustworthy	97	86	89	91	84	84	77	52	56
Being future-oriented	57	66	37	89	68	73	46	50	33
Being collaborative	86	68	69	86	72	69	49	28	28
Being decisive	94	88	77	63	66	47	46	24	24
Having a sense of humor	83	74	72	74	68	56	60	40	39
Being a risk taker	57	58	37	63	38	51	40	42	27
Having collegial respect	74	64	69	74	92	84	54	28	35
Being entrepreneurial	60	64	47	46	38	24	34	34	41
Administrative skills									
Problem-solving	97	88	82	63	58	57	34	22	16
Time-management	86	86	87	57	50	37	17	14	11
Communication	86	82	85	86	80	77	71	44	64
Coordination	77	74	85	60	66	49	26	20	27
Stress-reduction	77	76	68	57	46	36	23	12	5
Computer-literacy	51	60	52	40	50	28	3	6	3
Conflict-management	77	80	83	68	56	55	23	20	19
Small group facilitation	69	68	63	77	64	52	23	22	13
Public relations	60	64	40	43	50	45	66	58	71

Note: See question 17 in Appendix.

cian/advocate role, in some cases over 60%. For example, the percentage differences obtained from all three institutions for application of problem solving skills being either "very important" or "essential" in the managerial role compared with in the politician/advocate role were from the college (97% vs. 34%), the institute (88% vs. 22%), and the university (82% vs. 16%). Two notable exceptions were communication and public relations, where the differences were either not as great or were reversed. The percentages obtained for "very important" or "essential" personal traits for the politician/advocate role were also generally lower than for the other two roles, but the differences were less marked than for administrative skills.

Institutional Factors

Department head job descriptions, performance reviews, and statements of goals and objectives produce overt expectations for performance. These are augmented by less explicit or covert expectations generated by institutional factors such as selection criteria, titles, terms of service, and the disciplinary nature of departments, which are of particular research interest because of their relative transparency.

The highest percentages as sources of expectations for department heads were obtained for overt expectation factors: departmental objectives (college 94%, institute 84%, and university 93%) and regular performance reviews (college 77%, institute 71%, and university 75%). However, as shown in Table 4, a number of factors associated with covert expectations showed greater differentiation and consistently lower percentages. These covert factors were related to selection/election and renewal of department head in the college, the title and discipline alignment in the institute, and the duration of term of service as department head.

Percentages obtained from college respondents regarding election of department heads by peers (56%) and renewable terms of office (64%) were substantially higher than the percentages obtained from the institute (35% and 40%) or the university (42% and 44%) for these factors. A higher percentage of institute respondents rated title of position (46%) higher in importance than did those from the college (31%) and the university (21%) sectors. However, the institute (63%) and the college (61%) had nearly identical percentages of importance for departmental discipline compared with university (43%). Duration of term of service was rated as a key source of expectations for department heads by considerably more respondents from both the university (53%) and the college (50%) than from the institute (33%).

Selection and Review Criteria

Considerable similarity in percentages for "very important" and "essential" responses was obtained regarding teaching experience as a criterion for selecting department heads—college (82%), institute (71%), and university (74%)—and administrative experience as a criterion for their review—college (94%), institute (88%), and university (90%). As shown in Table 5, considerable differentiation was found between the university (75%), the college (14%), and the institute (23%) regarding the aggregate "very important" and "essential" responses for research interests. However, the college (66%) contrasted with the institute (44%) and the university (39%) concerning academic specialty as a selection criterion. A parallel differentiation in percentages was obtained for

Table 4
Aggregate Percentages of "Very Important" and "Essential" Ratings of Selected Institutional Factors That Showed Substantial Differentiation as Sources of Expectations for Department Heads

Institutional factors	*College* %	*Institute* %	*University* %
Election of department heads by peers	56	35	42
Renewable terms of office	64	40	44
Title of position	31	46	21
Department discipline	61	63	43
Duration of term of service	50	33	53

Notes: 1. "Substantial differentiation" means that any one pair of responses differed by 15% or more.
2. See question 18 in Appendix.

Table 5
Aggregate Percentages of "Very Important" and "Essential" Ratings of Selected Selection and Review Criteria That Showed Substantial Differentiation as Sources of Expectations for Department Heads

Selection and review criteria	*College %*	*Institute %*	*University %*
Selection criteria			
Research interests	14	23	74
Academic speciality	66	44	39
Review criteria			
Scholarly performance	42	42	75
Teaching performance	79	49	56

Notes: 1. "Substantial differentiation" means that any one pair of responses differed by 15% or more.
2. See question 18 in Appendix.

scholarly performance from the university (75%) compared with the college and the institute (both 42%), and from the college (79%) versus the university (56%) and the institute (49%) regarding teaching performance as review criteria. Several respondents commented on the need to use different performance criteria for different circumstances. One was critical in noting, "acceptable performance was related to the dean's style of administration."

Summary and Discussion

Traditionally, the indispensable activities of department heads have been associated with the roles of manager and academic leader. Most acknowledged experts have heavily weighted their attention toward these roles (Bennett, 1983; Bennett & Figuli, 1990; Creswell et al., 1990; Emmet & Bennett, 1986; Heimler, 1967; Moses & Roe, 1990; Tucker, 1992). Few have paid attention to differences in the position of department heads in various types of postsecondary institutions. That is, Clark's (1983) assertion quoted at the beginning of this article about the need to "concentrate on analysis of particular realms" has been largely ignored to date with respect to department heads. However, interview findings highlighted the evolving dimensions of the position of department head. Many of the cited changes were connected to a need to add a focus beyond departmental or even institutional boundaries.

Similarities and Differences

Department heads in each of the three different types of postsecondary institutions tended to rate the role activities listed below as either "very important" or "essential" to a greater extent than did department heads in the other two types: college—scheduling, teaching; institute—budget development, budget control, monitoring, public relations with the business community, and activities involving government programs and corporations; university—research, writing, and salary/promotions committees. In general, these differences show greater importance for these department head activities:

teaching at the college; financial control and external relations at the institute; and research and scholarship at the university.

With respect to personal traits and administrative skills, the university respondents tended to rate being a risk taker, being entrepreneurial, and being computer literate substantially lower in importance than did the other two groups. University respondents also tended to rate all the listed administrative skills, except conflict management, lower in cruciality for at least one of the managerial, academic leader, or politician/advocate roles. Similar findings occurred for personal traits, except that for the academic leader and politician/advocate roles the lower ratings were commonly shared by the institute and university respondents.

Regarding the importance of institutional factors influencing department heads, the university and institute respondents tended to have lower percentages of importance ratings, except for duration of term of service (university) and title of position and department discipline (institute). For the importance of selection criteria, university respondents tended to rate research interests higher than did the other two groups, whereas college respondents favored academic specialty. Concerning review criteria, university respondents more frequently selected scholarly performance and college respondents teaching performance.

Some of these findings were predictable, for example, the university group's emphasis on research and writing and the institute group's, given its history, on more managerial control. Other findings were less predictable and warrant further exploration, for example, the college group's emphasis on collaboration as a personal trait that it rated more highly on all three roles.

Tucker (1992) asserted that "departments do not exist in isolation" and that external interaction often "comes to the department whether it seeks it or not" (p. 494). Political aspects related to such interaction and increased visibility can vary by department and institution. One university respondent pointed out the need to be "sensitive to the political dimension of conflict of interest, quality control, and practical ethics issues." Although the importance of these issues on campus can differ by department size and discipline, the off-campus publicity given such concerns can be damaging to reputations and programs. In contrast, an internal political orientation was a typical focus of college respondents, one of whom cited a need for "vigilant awareness of interdepartmental resource allocation equity." Political activity was perceived by several institute respondents as typical organizational bickering. However, comments from institute respondents cited an external focus as being fundamental to any department head's success in generating teaching contracts and developing partnerships with industry. According to several respondents, the profile of the institute in various industry sectors is largely based on the department heads' efforts.

Fundraising campaigns, liaison with accrediting agencies, relations with other institutions and government, as well as cooperative initiatives with business, the recruiting of staff and students, and the placement of graduates were identified by questionnaire respondents as activities that required department heads to have a network of contacts external to their institution. Some of these areas were cited as traditional responsibilities of central administrators, but to

be successful increasingly required the initiative and ongoing involvement of department heads. Public relations, marketing skills, intraorganizational "street smarts," and an extraorganizational vision of trends and issues that could potentially influence the well-being of a department were capabilities perceived by a substantial percentage of respondents as increasingly necessary for department heads. Many of these activities required skills common to politicians and lobbyists. In the opinion of one respondent, "given our current funding situation, especially if a program is under threat, it is a contradiction to undervalue politician/advocate activities."

With an expansion of traditional expectations to include those common to such a politician/advocate role, the position of department head has an added nontraditional dimension. Nonetheless, the findings pointed to a lack of understanding of how a politician/advocate role fits the traditional conceptualization of department head. A generally disparaging aura surrounded references to politics, which obscured for many the benefits of planned and promotive involvement by department heads in public relations, internal positioning, external marketing, and general departmental advocacy activities.

Evolution

Deans were cited in the interviews as perceiving interaction with other institutions and the business community as primary targets for public relations efforts, whereas the campus community was the preferred focus of faculty members and incumbent department heads. Institutional responses exposed similar differences. Public relations activities with the business community and other institutions were considered a higher priority by college and institute than by university respondents.

Internal lobbying for operating and capital resources was viewed by college and institute interviewees as a key activity. Involvement by department heads in salary and promotions deliberations was similarly perceived at the university. Advocacy efforts on behalf of a department or discipline and external lobbying in general were valued more by deans and department head respondents than by faculty members. Similarly, the percentages obtained from college and institute respondents indicated that they were more externally focused than were the university respondents.

As the postsecondary domain changes to include more women and minorities, as well as mature and diversely motivated students, department heads will need to be more outwardly focused and increasingly forewarned of issues and concerns that either pose a threat to or can benefit department disciplines and mission. The reeducation of faculty members regarding these new priorities may be a natural by-product of such an outward advocacy focus. The existence of a capable political/advocacy role model for department heads and, more importantly, development of skills and abilities inherent in such a role will probably be of increasing importance to departments.

Among current dynamics affecting departments are the limitations imposed by constrained resources. An example is the impact on department heads from the merging of departments with diverse mandates. Such mixtures of specialties require a department head to become more of a generalist than would otherwise be necessary in a department with a homogeneous disciplinary mandate. In addition, social and legal issues such as faculty association

bargaining, gender and racial equity, negligence and liability, and political correctness were cited in interviews as taking time and attention away from traditional academic dimensions of departmental leadership.

Such increasing complexity of the position of department head was a concern stated in several interviews. The evolving demands and related expectations for performance warrant a reevaluation of the status and authority of the position of department head in postsecondary institutions. Moreover, with mergers of departments, reduced resources, downsizing of administrative and support staff, and the growing need to be oriented beyond the perimeters of their unit, a reevaluation of appropriate personal characteristics and skills needed for effective performance in the position seems to be in order.

Professionalization

With the increasing complexity in the administration of higher education has come a growing dissatisfaction with the "temporary and amateur" image long associated with departmental leadership. In a recent address to an international conference, Gmelch (1992) concluded that "the time of 'amateur administration' where professors temporarily serve as department chairs, is over" (p. 15). Although we concur in his concern regarding the perception of department chairs as amateurs, Gmelch's conclusion is difficult to support. Given the widespread use of term appointments in North America, we contend that any substantial reinvention of the position will not be easily or quickly accomplished.

Traditional images of department heads and interpretations of appropriate behavior were pervasive in the findings. For example, trustworthiness, collaborative behavior, and collegial respect were identified by high percentages of respondents either as "very important" or "essential" department head traits. However, department head traits related to risk taking or entrepreneurism received substantially less support, especially from the university respondents. A higher percentage of the college and institute respondents valued being future-oriented and decisive than did those from the university.

Substantial differences were apparent regarding most traits as they applied to different roles. For example, even trustworthiness was considered of substantially less value to the politician/advocate role than to a managerial or academic leadership role. Such responses relate to the above-mentioned lower valuation of nontraditional aspects of the department head position. A similar pattern of responses was obtained with respect to administrative skills.

Responses indicated that several people-related skills were highly valued, whereas nontraditional skills were substantially less valued. Of these, communication, problem solving, and conflict management were highly valued, whereas computer skills and wellness-related or stress-reduction abilities were perceived to be of lesser utility. These latter skills are of note because they are those for which specific inservice training is often requested and therapeutically required for administrators in other domains. Furthermore, these and other skills may be some of those on which administrative development programs for postsecondary administrators need to be focused.

The impact on department heads of institutional factors such as position title, type and length of appointments, departmental design, scope of author-

ity, and utilization of department heads in institutional policy formulation have received some attention in the literature. With the exception of the latter item, these factors were given little recognition by respondents in this study as having a noticeable influence on expectations held for department heads.

A critical assessment of department head selection and administrative performance procedures and criteria is needed to ensure that a recognized standard for the position has institution-wide acceptance. A preference for relating job descriptions to evaluations of department head administrative performance was not overwhelmingly apparent in the findings, but it was identified in several interviews as a logical linkage. The endorsement of such a linkage by college department heads was a notable exception to this finding.

Several open-ended questionnaire comments indicated that resistance to a connection between these criteria was based on the reactive nature of the position that frequently defies prescriptive taxonomies of duties and actions. However, a generic conceptualization or position description is a possible alternative. Based on such a generic description, a short-term performance contract or periodic description of objectives, focused on mutually agreed-on projects or objectives, could provide a flexible standard for the evaluation of administrative performance in different contexts. This would benefit deans, who could become acquainted to a much greater degree than was indicated in the interview findings with the dimensions and demands of the department head position. This more formalized system could provide a less isolated working environment for department heads and make the process of performance review less dependent on the personality or stylistic preferences of deans, as alluded to in questionnaire comments and interviews.

To be appointed because of teaching and research accomplishments, but to be evaluated on administrative performance for which one has had little if any preparation is not an arrangement that fosters security. Teaching experience was consistently recognized by a high percentage of respondents as a key selection criterion, as was administrative performance as a review criterion. The preference of university staff for research interests as a selection criterion appeared to be related to their support for scholarly performance as a review criterion.

Performance Review

Several department heads cited the lack of formative administrative evaluation as emanating from undefined criteria. If "professionalism" in this evolving position is required, as Gmelch (1992) asserted, then a concerted critical effort is needed to devise and implement selection and review criteria that are workable across an institution, yet have relevance in each departmental context. Few incumbents have all the requisite skills and abilities fully developed at the time of appointment. Some form of needs assessment is required, as are resources and skill development programming to address the identified needs.

Administrative Development

The recognition of administrative capacities and their development in incumbent and candidate department heads is a concern given little continuing attention by Alberta's postsecondary institutions and virtually no consideration at the higher education system level. Two approaches are available, and

both should be considered: continuing inservice programs and preservice preparation for department head candidates.

Inservice. On-the-job training has been the predominant approach to the administrative development of incumbent department heads. In Alberta's postsecondary system such training has been largely left to individual institutions. However, a system-funded interinstitutional program was offered to university chairs in the maritime provinces in the early 1980s (Baker, 1993), and in recent years multi-day seminars from the Center for Leadership Development—American Council of Education have been offered through Mount Royal College's Extension Department. These latter opportunities have attracted incumbent college and institute department heads, but few if any university chairs. Of additional concern was the lack of attention to uniquely Canadian aspects of higher education administration.

The findings from this study pointed to three categories of inservice skill development needs: (a) institutional administrative procedures, budgeting, and financial skills for "rookie" department heads; (b) individual and small-group mediation skills for second- or third-year department heads; and (c) consensus building, visioning, and planning capabilities as continuing needs. It is obvious that the skills cited are predominantly oriented to management.

With the arguable need for a new focus on external politician/advocate activities comes a concomitant need for the development of skills and capacities related to such a role. Bolman and Deal (1992) asserted that "preservice and inservice programs for school administrators rarely give much attention to symbolic and political skills, yet our results show that they are crucial components for effective leadership" (p. 328). We propose that politician/advocate skills appropriate to each of the categories listed above warrant inclusion in any orientation and inservice administrative development program in higher education.

Preservice. Preservice preparation has been recognized as beneficial to new department heads in making an easy and functional transition from faculty to administrator status. The frequent turnover of department heads resulting from the short-term nature of appointments has reinforced this need. Traditionally, such preparation has taken the form of service as an assistant chair or project coordinator in an academic department. However, one interviewee commented that a formally structured apprentice system ought to be considered, although this form of preservice preparation seems less viable in small or one-person departments that are dependent on part-time staff. A recognized program of preservice courses available to faculty members could be offered on a regular basis through extension services. Participation in a program of this sort could provide a means for senior administrators to identify talent. Program completion could be considered as a selection criterion that provides minimal preparation and gives a better chance for a less stressful transition from faculty to administration for a successful candidate.

Concluding Reflections

This study identified an ongoing set of overt expectations for department heads to be managers and academic leaders in ways traditional to postsecondary education. Traditional notions of department heads as temporary custodians of departmental bastions are being challenged by expectations from

nontraditional students, faculty with nontraditional needs both as scholars and teachers, and by deans who are struggling with the nontraditional demands of their position. Changes in available financial and human resources, disciplinary alignments through mergers and restructuring, demands for alternative delivery, rapid growth in dependence on communication technologies, and a virtual elimination of one-size-fits-all postsecondary education bring increased instability to an environment that thrives on stability. The possibility of department heads continuing to be effective in such a set of circumstances, especially utilizing traditional models and methods, is highly doubtful. A similar view was expressed by Eley (1994) for university department heads in the UK.

Such flux requires department heads increasingly to be specialists, not just in an academic discipline, but in administrative practice. Research and reflection on the covert and overt expectations held for the position of department head can aid departments and deans to react to, and even anticipate, departmental leadership needs. Attention to the expectations inherent in the selection, preparation, and development of motivated and capable candidates for this crucial administrative position in postsecondary education is warranted now more than ever.

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Appendix
Questionnaire Sections

Expectations of Department Heads in Postsecondary Institutions

1. Please check (√) your type of institution.

   1. ☐ community college

   2. ☐ institute of technology

   3. ☐ university

2. What position do you hold at your institution?

   _____

   _____

3. For how many years have you served in your current position?
   (Count the current year as a full year.) _____ year(s)

4. If you are a department head, how did you receive your appointment? (e.g., election, administrative appointment)

   _____

5. What disciplines or program areas are represented by your academic unit? (e.g., faculty, department)

   _____

   _____

   _____

6. What is the predominant type of student registered in courses offered by your academic unit?
   (e.g., undergraduate, graduate, diploma)

   _____

7. What percentage of course registrations in your academic unit are in the following categories?

   Diploma _____ %

   Undergraduate _____ %

   Graduate _____ %

8. How many faculty members are employed in your academic unit?

   (a) Full-time equivalent _____ FTE

   (b) Full-time _____ FTE

   (c) Part-time _____ FTE

9. How many associate/assistant department heads are employed in your academic unit? _____

2 — Survey Questionnaire of Expectations of Department Heads in Postsecondary Institutions

10. What level of importance do you place on the following ***managerial*** activities of department heads in your institution?

11. In your institution, what type of authority do you consider that department heads ***have*** and ***should have*** to make final decisions in the following areas?

Please place checks (√) in the appropriate frames opposite each item listed below.

Scale: Not Important — Fairly Important — Very Important — Essential — Not Applicable

Scale: No Authority — Shared Authority — Complete Authority

Not Impt.	Fairly Impt.	Very Impt.	Esstl.	N/A	Managerial Activities	Have			Should Have		
						No Authority	Shared Authority	Complete Authority	No Authority	Shared Authority	Complete Authority
					Financial Management						
					Budget development						
					Budget control						
					Personnel Management						
					Planning						
					Hiring						
					Evaluation						
					Termination						
					Personnel development						
					Facilities, Equipment and Operations						
					Planning (goals, objectives)						
					Resource allocation						
					Monitoring						
					Scheduling						
					Information dissemination						

Comments: _____

12. What level of ***importance*** would you place on the following academic leadership activities expected of department heads in your institution?

13. In your institution, what type of authority do you consider that department heads ***have*** and ***should have*** to make final decisions in the following areas?

Please place checks (√) in the appropriate frames opposite each item listed below.

Scale Not Important — Fairly Important — Very Important — Essential — Not Applicable

Scale No Authority — Shared Authority — Complete Authority

Not Impt.	Fairly Impt.	Very Impt.	Esstl.	N/A	Academic Leadership	Have			Should Have		
						No Authority	Shared Authority	Complete Authority	No Authority	Shared Authority	Complete Authority
					Program Activities						
					Curricular (design & delivery)						
					Program evaluation						
					Academic policy formulation						
					Academic policy implementation						
					Student services						
					Faculty-related Activities						
					Recruitment/Selection						
					Workloads						
					Faculty development						
					Performance review						
					Department Head Academic Activities						
					Teaching						
					Research						
					Writing						
					Consulting						
					Professional affiliations						

Comments: _____

14. What level of importance would you place on the following ***political and advocacy*** activities of department heads in your institution?

15. In your institution, what type of authority do you consider that department heads ***have*** and ***should have*** to make final decisions in the following areas?

Please place checks (√) in the appropriate frames opposite each item listed below.

Scale Not Important — Fairly Important — Very Important — Essential — Not Applicable

Scale No Authority — Shared Authority — Complete Authority

Not Impt.	Fairly Impt.	Very Impt.	Esstl.	N/A	Political and Advocacy Activities	Have			Should Have		
						No Authority	Shared Authority	Complete Authority	No Authority	Shared Authority	Complete Authority
					Public Relations Activities						
					Campus community						
					Inter-institutional						
					Government agencies						
					Elected representatives						
					Business community						
					Committee Activities						
					Capital resources allocation						
					Institutional policy formulation						
					Collective bargaining						
					Operational resource allocation						
					Salary and promotion						
					Entrepreneurial Activities						
					Professional associations						
					Other educational domains						
					Government programs						
					Corporate initiatives						

Comments: _____

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16. What level of importance would you place on the following ***personal traits and administrative skills*** of department heads?

17. In which of the three department head roles can the following personal traits and administrative skills be considered ***crucial***?

Please place checks (√) in the appropriate frames opposite each item listed below.

Scale Not Important — Fairly Important — Very Important — Essential — Not Applicable

More than one frame may be checked below

Not Impt.	Fairly Impt.	Very Impt.	Esstl.	N/A	Traits and Skills	Managerial Role	Academic Leader Role	Politician/ Advocate Role
					Personal Traits			
					Be trustworthy			
					Be future-oriented			
					Be collaborative			
					Be decisive			
					Have a sense of humour			
					Be a risk-taker			
					Have collegial respect			
					Be entrepreneurial			
					Administrative Skills			
					Problem solving			
					Time management			
					Communication			
					Coordination			
					Stress reduction			
					Computer literacy			
					Conflict management			
					Small-group facilitation			
					Public relations			

Comments: _____

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18. What level of importance would you place on the following factors and criteria as ***sources of expectations*** for department heads in your institution?

Please place checks (√) in the appropriate frame opposite each item listed below.

Scale Not Important — Fairly Important — Very Important — Essential — Not Applicable

Factors and Criteria	Not Impt.	Fairly Impt.	Very Impt.	Esstl.	N/A
Institutional Factors					
Institutional mission and goals					
Departmental objectives					
Individualized job descriptions					
Recruiting process of department heads					
Appointment of department heads by superordinates					
Election of department heads by peers					
Duration of term of service					
Renewable terms of office					
Title of position					
Size of department					
Department discipline					
Type of institution					
Regular performance reviews of department heads					
Selection Criteria					
Administrative experience					
Teaching experience					
Research interests					
Academic speciality					
Performance Review Criteria					
Administrative performance					
Scholarly performance					
Teaching performance					
Service activities					

Comments: _____

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Thank-you for participating in this survey.

Survey Questionnaire of Expectations of Department Heads in Postsecondary Institutions — **7**

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and

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The Forgotten Link: Transitions from Graduate School to Classroom Teaching

Considerable literature addresses the difficult transition from preservice teacher education to the realities of classroom teaching, but there has been almost no research that examines specifically the experiences of experienced teachers returning to the classroom after completing graduate studies. The purpose of this study was to explore the nature of that transition. Using questionnaires (N=50) and in-depth interviews with 17 graduates, we reach a number of conclusions, among them that: graduate studies have a positive impact on the way teachers think about their teaching; teachers who return to the classroom believe that their colleagues resent their "new knowledge"; part-time study appears to lend itself to a more direct questioning of specific practice and an attempt to try out new ideas in the classroom; full-time study results in considerable dissatisfaction with, and almost an inability to cope with, existing systems. A number of recommendations are made for graduate programs and for schools.

Même s'il existe une importante littérature sur les difficultés de transition que ressentent les enseignants et les enseignantes de leurs stages de formation aux réalités de l'enseignement en salle de classe, il ne semble y avoir presqu'aucune recherche qui examine spécifiquement les expériences des enseignants et des enseignantes ayant de l'expérience qui retournent en salle de classe après avoir complété leurs études supérieures. Le but de cette étude était d'explorer la nature de cette transition et de leur retour en salle de classe. En utilisant des questionnaires (N=50) et des entrevues détaillées de 17 gradués universitaires nous avons pu en tirer une série de conclusions, parmi lesquelles: Les études graduées affectent de façon positive la façon que les enseignants et les enseignantes perçoivent leur enseignement; les enseignants et les enseignantes qui retournent en salle de classe croient que leurs collègues éprouvent de l'amertume à l'égard de leurs nouvelles connaissances; l'étude à temps partiel paraît se porter mieux à un questionnement direct de leur pratique spécifique et d'un effort d'essayer de nouvelles idées basées sur la théorie dans leur salle de classe; l'étude à plein temps semble produire une grande insatisfaction des systèmes qui existent et d'une presqu'inabilité de fonctionner avec ces mêmes systèmes. On suggère plusieurs recommandations pour les programmes gradués postsecondaires et pour les écoles.

Most teachers remember their first few months and years of teaching as a stressful, painful blur, and much has been written about the difficult transition from undergraduate student to the first year of teaching as idealism succumbs to the realities of school culture (Greene & Campbell, 1993; Sarason, 1993). There is also research examining changes experienced by teachers who are new to the system (Odell, 1986), and even some that describes change as a function of teacher inservice (McNergney & Carrier, 1981). However, we have been able

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to identify little research that examines specifically the experience of moving from teaching into graduate studies and back to classroom teaching. Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) cite research to indicate that simultaneously being a graduate student and teacher "restores meaning and relevance to the graduate programme as a place of productive professional development. Each has its place: the classroom as the busy hub of practice, and the seminar room as a safe refuge for reflection on it" (p. 11). But what happens to the teacher in that "busy hub of practice" when there is no longer time, or a safe place for reflection, or a culture that supports, or even allows, the kind of reflection to which they have become accustomed in their graduate studies?

The MEd program at the University of Lethbridge has as its central focus the professional development of practicing classroom teachers. However, informal comments from some of the graduates who have returned to classroom teaching on completion of their graduate program hint at considerable frustration and difficulty in returning to the classroom, in reconciling the opportunity to think, to reflect, to discuss, and to read with the relentless realities of day-to-day life in schools. According to Duffy and Roehler (1986):

> Teachers restructure new information in terms of their conceptual understandings of curricular content, their concept of instruction, their perception of the demands of the working environment, and their desire to achieve a smoothly flowing school day. As the information is processed through these filters the teachers' thinking changes relative to the innovation. Hence an innovation that is sensible when discussed in a course or an inservice session is modified by the filters; sometimes, the modification is so great that what seemed sensible in the teacher education situation cannot be implemented on a regular basis in the classroom. (p. 57)

Baskett, Marsick, and Cervero (1992) indicate that there are a number of polarities or tensions when professionals continue their education: individual versus collective; rational versus intuitive; cognitive versus emotional; routine versus nonroutine; formal versus informal; constructive versus scientific knowledge (pp. 110-111). We suggest that, although these are not mutually exclusive perspectives, more often than not educators assume models of professional learning that tend to be closer to one side of these constructs than the other. If graduate programs and schools have different assumptions about the purpose of teachers' professional development, then teachers who are returning to the classroom are likely to experience considerable frustration, dissatisfaction, and tension, and the benefits that were expected to accrue as a result of their further education may not be forthcoming. For example, if teachers in a graduate program come to believe that professional knowledge is socially and culturally constructed and content specific, and subsequently attempt to translate those insights into a traditionally structured public school model of learning, they are likely to experience gut-wrenching episodes of disequilibrium. This possibility and the casual comments from former graduate students served as the impetus for this study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to begin to explore the transition from graduate student back to teaching, specifically: (a) to describe the impact or effect of

graduate studies on participants as teachers (e.g., their classroom practices, relationships with colleagues, beliefs about teaching, and beliefs and practices about students and student learning); (b) to examine whether the transition experiences were different for different groups of teachers (e.g., full-time/part-time status, gender, age, years of experience; and (c) for teachers who did not return to the classroom, to determine how and to what extent their graduate studies contributed to that career change.

Methodology

This study was conducted in the context of one institution and relied on questionnaire and interview data. Brief questionnaires were developed to address the demographic issues raised in research question (b); open-ended questions addressed research questions (a) and (c). In the open-ended questions respondents were asked to describe their major reasons for applying for graduate studies and the relationship between their graduate studies and their teaching (e.g., beliefs about teaching, teaching practices, staff/student relationships). At the end of the questionnaire respondents were asked to provide a telephone number if they would be willing to participate in a follow-up interview.

Questionnaire Sample

Questionnaires were mailed to all persons who had been in classroom teaching positions on admission to the graduate program and who had graduated between 1984 and 1992 (N=64). Eight questionnaires were returned with the address unknown. From the resulting sample of 56 graduates, 50 (89.2%) of the questionnaires were completed and returned. Of those 50, 44 (88%) agreed to be interviewed.

Demographic information about the study sample is presented in Table 1. Of the 50 respondents, 29 had completed the program entirely part time (10 male, 19 female); 21 had completed at least one semester of the program full time (10 male, 11 female). Although the sample was intended to have been drawn from those who were teaching at the time of admission to the program, it was apparent from their responses that five persons were in "other positions," for example, counselor or resource room teacher, and one was in a purely administrative position. On admission to the program 34 (68.7%) of the participants were in full-time teaching positions. After graduation 22 (44%) were in full-time teaching positions. It is also apparent from Table 1 that most of the respondents were between 30 and 39 years of age, except for the women who had attended part time, of whom 12 of 19 (63%) were more than 40 years of age. The average years of experience ranged from 8.5 years for part-time males to 11.4 years for full-time males.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with 17 of the 44 graduates who indicated a willingness to be interviewed, in order to explore in greater detail the experience of the transition from graduate study to full-time teaching or to their present position. The initial plan had called for 20 interviews, 10 male and 10 female, with approximately five of each part-time and five full-time. We had also intended that approximately one third would be from the Lethbridge area, one third would be within 160 km of Lethbridge, and one third would live more

Table 1
Demographic Information About Survey Sample

Position	*Part Time (29)*								*Full Time (21)*								*Total 50*
	Male (10)				*Female (19)*				*Male (10)*				*Female (11)*				
	Tchg	*Tchg/ Admin*	*Admin*	*Other*	*Tchg*	*Tchg/ Admin*	*Admin*	*Other*	*Tchg*	*Tchg/ Admin*	*Admin*	*Other*	*Tchg*	*Tchg/ Admin*	*Admin*	*Other*	
On Admission	8	2			13	3	1	2	7	2		1	6	3		2	50
After Grad	6	1	3		8	6	1	4	3	6		1	5	5		1	50
Age at Admission		<25 - 0 26-29 - 2 30-39 - 7 >40 - 0				<25 - 1 26-29 - 1 30-39 - 5 >40 - 12				<25 -0 26-29 - 0 30-39 - 8 >40 - 2				<25 - 1 26-29 - 0 30-39 - 9 >40 - 1			
Average Years of Experience on Admission		8.5 (3.3)				9.9 (5.5)				11.4 (5.8)				8.7 (3.6)			

1. As a classroom teacher, describe what motivated you to enroll in a Master's program.
2. Describe the extent to which those aspirations were realized.
3. To what extent did your graduate studies affect your decision to return to the classroom (or to do whatever, for those not teaching)?
4. Please describe in detail:
   a) your transition from graduate student back to classroom teaching (for students who attended full time); or
   b) the relationship between your life as graduate student and your life as classroom teacher (for those who attended part time).

   Probes (if necessary)
   - beliefs about teaching/education
   - beliefs about curriculum
   - beliefs about students and student learning
   - teaching practices
   - relationships with students
   - relationships with colleagues
5. What could your graduate program or your school do or have done to make the transition (or relationship) more positive or helpful?

Figure 1. Guiding interview questions.

than 160 km from Lethbridge, which closely approximated the geographic distribution of the study sample. However, time and distance prevented us from scheduling the final three interviews.

Interviewees within 160 km of Lethbridge were selected at random from those in each category who had provided at least a minimal response to the open-ended questions on the survey. Those at a distance were selected primarily on the basis of convenience and availability.

All interviews were semistructured. A list of guiding questions is provided in Figure 1, but rarely did the interviews follow the prescribed format completely. All interviews were conducted by one or both of the researchers at a location of the respondent's choosing. All were audiotaped and transcribed; each lasted from 30 to 60 minutes.

Detailed information about the interview sample is provided in Table 2. Of the 17 persons interviewed, eight had completed the program entirely part time and nine had attended at least one year of full-time study. Table 2 also presents information on the representativeness of the questionnaire and interview samples. It is apparent that the questionnaire sample differs little from the total available sample. Of the total available sample 45% were male and 55% were female; of the questionnaire respondents 40% were male and 60% were female. However, in the interview sample 59% were male and 41% were female. Of the available sample 43% were full time, 57% were part time. Forty-two percent of the questionnaire sample were full time, 58% were part time; 53% of the interview sample were full time and 47% were part time. Although for the most part the sample appears representative, in the interview sample there is a slight overrepresentation of full-time males and an underrepresentation of part-time females. This was due largely to availability of respondents.

Table 2
Information About Survey and Interview Sample
Relative to Total Population

	Total Population (56)		Questionnaires Returned (50)		Interviews (17)	
	Part Time	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time
Male	13	12	10 (20%)	10 (20%)	4 (24%)	6 (35%)
Female	19	12	19 (38%)	11 (22%)	4 (24%)	3 (18%)
Total	32	24	29 (58%)	21 (42%)	8 (47%)	9 (53%)

Analysis

Interviews and responses to open-ended questions were examined initially by highlighting and noting comments that appeared to be directly related to the research questions, or by highlighting comments, a version of which appeared in more than one interview. In many cases, where there were specific responses to particular questions (e.g., "why did you enroll in a graduate program?"), the responses were simply recorded, tallied, and categorized using representative quotes to define the category. Where responses were more lengthy and involved (e.g., in describing the relationship between graduate studies and classroom teaching), we began to identify tentative themes, recording each theme on a large sheet of paper with representative quotes. Each of these themes was supported, rejected, and/or modified as subsequent interviews were analyzed and reanalyzed. Through these constant comparative methods of "sorting and defining, defining and sorting those scraps of collected data," and organizing and coding emerging themes, eventually we were able "to place the various data clumps in a meaningful sequence" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 133). The various themes were then clustered into three major categories, which although they are closely related to the research questions do not correspond on a one-to-one basis. These categories were motivations for enrolling in graduate studies, relationships between graduate studies and classroom realities, and the transition from graduate student to practicing professional. For the most part all themes are reported, including the numbers of respondents who espoused that particular idea and several quotations that exemplify the major idea in the theme. With respect to different transition experiences for different groups of teachers, the only differences explored in this preliminary phase were those between full-and part-time students.

Findings of the Study

Motivations for Entering the MEd Program

Questionnaire responses. The 50 persons responding to the questionnaire gave a variety of reasons for applying for graduate studies; there was little difference between the full-time and the part-time responses. The most common reason, stated by nine part-time people and 13 full-time people (44% in total; 53% of the females and 30% of the males), had to do with some aspect of personal growth, renewing energy, academic challenge, or searching for meaning.

> I wanted some time away from the classroom and school to think and to learn more about current educational theories and research ... I just needed to get rejuvenated and to get away from "the system" for a period of time and to reflect on what I did and what I wanted to do. (311, FT, F)

> I was searching for some real meaning in my life. I knew children and learning were of utmost value to me, yet I was struggling to find a sense of virtue and worth after witnessing, and experiencing, excessive destructive behaviour carried on in the name of "schooling." (314, PT, F)

The next most common reasons, stated by 37% of the females and 40% of the males, related to career advancement in some way. Eight of the part-time people and three of the full-time people (22% in total) mentioned specific job-related interests and skills that they hoped to achieve; for example: "I wanted to explore interpretive teacher-driven research by attempting to write it" (310, PT, M), and "to develop better understanding of the place of enthusiasm in learning" (354, FT, M). The second job-related category was to earn credentials to provide opportunities for career advancement or to change career direction. This particular motivator was mentioned by 20% of the sample: six of the part-time people and four of the full-time people. However, many of those 10 persons indicated that their motivation changed once they entered the program; they became less advancement-oriented and more learning-oriented. Related to these responses were those of four persons who simply stated that they had a personal goal to achieve an MEd. Two other persons indicated that they were intrigued by the concept of a "master teacher," and one other person simply said she wanted to go to school.

Interview responses. With respect to the 17 persons interviewed, the explanations for applying for graduate study became somewhat more involved. Although the major motivator was personal growth, as in the questionnaire responses, there was a difference in the gender ratio of responses. Eleven of the 17 (only three of the seven females but all but one of the 10 males, compared with 53% of females and 30% of males in the survey sample), indicated that their primary reason for applying to the program was that they "needed something for me" (5, 1) or "just wanted to develop my own potential further" (6, 1), "wanted more education about education" (11, 1), "as an avenue of getting a little bit more inside of things that are happening in education" (12, 1), and so on. Although nine of those 11 people indicated that at the time they were mostly satisfied with their teaching and simply wanted more challenge or a new stimulus, two indicated that they were currently struggling with their teaching or restless and getting stagnant. As one person expressed it,

> I think I was struggling, not in the classroom as much as out of the classroom, with teaching. I think I was doing an adequate job teaching physical education, but what I wasn't doing an adequate job with is everything else that has to do with teaching, and this is the personal relations, the staff relations, the professional growth and development. I was adequate in the classroom, but it has to go beyond that. It has to go beyond just delivering the message. (5, 1)

Even those who were satisfied indicated that they felt a "personal restlessness" (15, 1) or needed "a change from the routines" (17, 1).

Only three of the 17 interviewed stated that their primary reason for entering an MEd program was to advance to an administrative position; several others indicated that this might have been a secondary reason. Interestingly, four of the seven females but only one of the 10 males indicated that career advancement was a primary motivator. One person applied to the program because of work that he had done with a Faculty member in his school; another applied to the program because he was "frustrated, bored, upset" and "wanted to leave the pointless busy-ness of teaching" (10, 3).

Relationships Between Academic Studies and Classroom Realities

Questionnaire responses. Of the 49 persons who described the relationships between their graduate studies and their teaching, only one indicated that graduate study and classroom teaching were unrelated. Every other respondent indicated a positive relationship between academic study and classroom teaching; for example: "direct, immediate, useful, practical. Of all the PD I've undertaken, only my graduate studies changed my practice" (350, PT, F). Five of the part-time and one of the full-time respondents indicated that the primary effect of graduate study was to solidify and validate, strengthen their own beliefs, or clarify their thinking; for example: "the grad program helped solidify certain theories about pedagogy that I'd been formulating over my first decade of teaching" (310, PT). Four respondents, all part-time, spoke about the importance of the opportunity to share and meet with their colleagues. Six persons, three part-time and three full-time, mentioned direct effects on specific aspects of their teaching, such as evaluation, curriculum development, and supervision. Three part-time and five full-time persons indicated that their graduate studies had renewed their faith in the value of education or their perceptions about the importance of the classroom teacher and had brought them "closer to teaching."

However, by far the most common description of the relationships between graduate studies and teaching experiences was exemplified by nine part-time people and 12 full-time people (43% in total) who spoke about their greater understanding of the context of education, the challenge to their beliefs, their new self-awareness, and their new ability to be self critical.

> I am much more self-critical of what I do. I examine why I do things and whether or not they will truly benefit my students. If they will not benefit my students, if they are just to satisfy a curriculum requirement, or that is the way they "have to be done in this school," I do not necessarily do it or them. (311, FT, F)

> The program pushed me to think and to do things I had never dreamed of. It has given me the wisdom and confidence to promote "thinking otherwise" in my work place, to make my colleagues think of the "bigger picture." It has been one of the most powerful forces for personal and professional growth in my life. (363, FT, F)

Interview responses. All 17 persons interviewed described the relationship between their studies and their teaching in positive ways. However, there were differences between those who had been in the program full time and those who had been in the program part time. Part-time persons spoke specifically about application and about particular projects and studies they had completed. They indicated that being simultaneously a teacher and a student

"gives you that reality touch ... you can house [the academic learning] in the classroom" (12, 3). "I did a lot of testing and trying in my own classroom" (13, 3). They had also, however, become more "reflective" and "learned to think more globally" (2, 2).

> Sometimes we get hung up when we're working in the classroom and we don't have an opportunity or we don't think to reflect on why we're doing certain things, why children learn the way they do. (12, 7)

Those interviewed who had been in the program for a year or more full time commented in greater detail. They talked about their year or two at the university as being "the best years of my career" (6,4).

> It's the greatest PD I ever had been through. I'd been in the program for about a year and a half on a part-time basis ... those [courses] were marvelous; they really got me involved and it was interesting and fun and thought-provoking, I guess, to be taking graduate study courses and then going the very next day back to your classroom. There was some real advantage to that ... What I didn't realize when I got on campus [full time] was the environment of being in a university ... you just learned so much, so much more than in a class. I was really involved in a study of things. (4, 6)

> When you're there every day and you're there for two years, there's so much of what I had learned was not only in the program, it was sort of between the program, in the halls, the coffee, the golf course, you learn a lot. (10, 17)

One student, however, wondered whether he might have had additional benefits by having attended the program part time.

> Like, I still think there's maybe a benefit where teachers are actually teaching and can take courses at night and stuff. And then work in kind of slowly into their classroom, rather than doing it all and then all of a sudden going out to a completely new job. (17, 5-6)

The Transition from Graduate Studies to Teaching

Questionnaire responses. In describing the relationship between their graduate studies and their classroom teaching, questionnaire respondents touched on the notion of transition. However, the questionnaire did not elicit many responses specifically related to what it was like after the respondents were no longer graduate students. Only two respondents wrote specifically about that issue. One teacher who had been full time in the program wrote on her questionnaire: "I am finding the transition back to a classroom very challenging. Some days, fun and exciting; many days, really tough and discouraging. It seems so utterly chaotic and driven and I no longer find that appealing" (367, FT, F). Another, a male who had been part time throughout the program, also found the transition difficult.

> I found that teaching was the same old thing upon my return. In fact, some of the trivial expectations had increased. It was a let-down because at the university we dealt with philosophical aspects of education and back in the classroom, I had a job to do. I enjoyed grad studies and it was extremely refreshing, but there is very little room for higher level exploration of education in general when you are back in the classroom. (312, PT, M.)

Interview responses. This topic was explored in much more depth during the interviews. Seven of the eight interviewees who had completed their entire program on a part-time basis indicated that they had had no difficulty in returning to being a full-time professional following the completion of their master's degree. However, four of those seven persons (two males and two females) had moved into an administrative position after their studies; all four spoke of the freedom in their new positions: "Being a principal I have as much freedom as I want to take" (12, 11).

> I guess because I am an administrator, which has helped immensely, because I'm supposed to go out and evaluate teachers every year, and there you see the theory going into practice in the classroom by somebody else; and it does not become as frustrating. (1, 5)

> I teach half time as administrative assistant and half time in the library. Therefore, I see all classes one period a week. To me, I have the ideal set-up here. I see all students ... I also look after computers, so that's the area I'm interested in ... I have a lot of freedom. I have a lot of flexibility in hours which I never had in my 25 years in the classroom. (2, 6)

Another of the persons who described a relatively painless transition had continued in classroom teaching, but indicated that because of his thesis he had been contacted by the ATA and for the last eight years had been presenting workshops across the province. He had also spent one year seconded to the University as a faculty associate. Another said he felt no frustration, but found that "for the first few years after, I really tried to be creative and innovative. I'm getting more out of that now, because kids didn't seem to be able to cope" (9, 2). He indicated that he now sees much of the university teaching as ideology and the "Joe Friedmans" as reality. The last part-time student seemed to be truly content returning to the classroom. "I wouldn't do anything else" (11, 6). He considered himself a lifelong learner and indicated that he was continually learning: "you know, a 10- or 12-year personal project that I just work on" (11, 9). However, he too was applying for an administrative position.

The one part-time graduate, who admitted a great deal of frustration on her return to the classroom, had gone on to complete a PhD at another university. When she returned to her school district after two years, she was denied an administrative position and found herself back in the classroom. She "was suffering from the lack of intellectual stimulation."

> That isn't to say that I'm not really enjoying the kids or the work that I'm doing, but ... I find it very frustrating not being able to contribute and because of the work I did last year with Alberta Education, I became so aware of some of the things that were happening, and I haven't had anywhere to put that knowledge or energy or interest ... That stimulation, that thinking and not being able to run your ideas by people, you don't have that kind of thing in the classroom ... I find coming back, I try to analyze what's different, and it's moving back one step into bells and schedules that I have no control over, and, you know, that leaves me with less energy ... I'd like to be [back] in that risk-taking environment. That seems to be what I need. (3, 10-11)

Nine interviewees had completed at least one year of their MEd in full-time study; only three of those, all males, indicated that the transition back to the

classroom had not been a problem. However, of those three, one had become an assistant principal, another had accepted a position at a community college, and the third had moved to a school for special children. As expressed by the new administrator, it is "easier to change when it's totally new because you don't have the danger of falling into old habits" (4, 17). He believed that the reason he felt little frustration in returning to the classroom was not so much that he was in administration, but that his particular situation was conducive to continuing the learning that he had undertaken at the university.

> It's the first principal I've really worked with who understands in a day-to-day basis what this curriculum leadership, what it really means to be a leader in the school ... And the staff talk more about their work and activities than complaining about the kids. They talk about their teaching. (4,17)

The two others made similar comments about being in new situations where talk about teaching was common.

Six of the nine interviewees who had completed at least one year of full-time study indicated considerable difficulty with their transition back to the classroom. In fact, of those six, only four had returned to the public schools. One had moved into an administrative position, yet he still found the transition frustrating.

> I think one of the big things in schools is the loss of freedom when you come back into the system, and I use that word "system" deliberately, too. At the University there was a lot of freedom in terms of freedom of expression, academic freedom, freedom of movement, freedom from, I suppose, if I can use the term "accountability" in a sense, like nobody is keeping track of where you were, or what you were doing, or who you were with, or whatever. Once you move into a system, a school system or I suppose any other kind of system, you lose that, a lot of that autonomy. You become highly accountable to others, highly accountable to the structures of the system, the bells in the school, stuff like that ... It was a tough transition, and it still is. (15, 4)

The three who had returned to full-time teaching from full-time graduate studies, all females, described considerable frustration with their transition.

> I think I spent a lot of that year, the first year back, feeling sorry for myself, feeling that I shouldn't be where I was, that I didn't belong, feeling that the changes I had made were not accepted by my colleagues because they didn't want me to change in the first place ... And I really fought that awhile. I felt they weren't interested or accepting of my change. I was a different person, and a lot of people didn't care about that ... I felt cheated; I wasn't ready; my journey wasn't finished. (5, 6)

> I might have to dig deep to try and think of some positive things to say about it. This has been a particularly tough year. I found it just brutal ... You know, the attitudes of the general population towards education, towards teachers, and so on, continues to kind of disintegrate in a way. And so there's that. Also, you get out of the frantic pace of being in the classroom, and just readjusting to that has been hard. I don't know, in many ways the graduate school ... was so set up to treat us as professionals; you people gave us so much respect and nurturing and a lot of understanding, and your time is your own and you're very self-directed and self-motivated. When you go back to teaching, it's just ... Maybe it's the ideals that you hold dear to you while you're doing that kind of thing. You find

> back in the system that, I don't know, I just found I simply, I don't have time. I don't have time. And many of the thoughts that I had that I really cherished there, my students have not been very receptive to. And maybe that's been partly ... maybe it's me. Maybe it's the way I presented them, or my timing, or whatever. But that's made me feel kind of like withdrawing those ideas, you know. You hold them dear to you and the kids kind of poop on them, and then they're not interested. That's been discouraging for me, I would say ... I feel much more eroding of my time ... in fact, I found this a harder transition than my first year of teaching by far. I felt much more eroding of my ideals. (6, 6-7)

> I've got a feeling I'm not as content after it as I was before, and yet, you know, it was fun ... I miss just the way our minds flew a little bit beyond the here and now. I feel like I'm really in the here and now, and it's almost exhausting to try to push yourself beyond that, because you can barely keep up with the here and now. (8, 15-16)

In addition to the loss of freedom, autonomy, and opportunity these teachers experienced was the fact that their peers and colleagues seemed not to be receptive to their new ideas and in some cases even resented them.

> You go through that period of being a bit angry about all of that. You learn all kinds of new things, then you go back and you realize that there isn't a place for it. It doesn't fit. Neither do you. People don't want to hear about these new words you're using, they don't. As a matter of fact, if your administrators have not gone back to pursue their graduate degree, you are really a threat in that school. So you can learn a lot of things that affect your teaching, I think, but you can't do them. You feel that you can't do them. You feel like an outsider until you are back for about, from what I've heard anyhow, two years and then you forget a lot of what you've learned. You *have* to forget what you've learned. (7, 10)

> I felt they weren't interested or accepting of my change. I was a different person. When I went back into the classroom I was a totally different person, and a lot of people didn't care about that. I think they resent, I mean, because they see it as time off instead of time for growth, time for change. What they see is that I was out of the classroom. (5, 8)

One of these three teachers who had attempted, and failed, to enliven the staff using some of the ideas gleaned from her graduate work described herself as a "black sheep": "So, in that climate, where these teachers have been there for a long time, they sort of roll their eyes if it's anything very innovative" (8, 10).

Two of the nine interviewees, both males, who had completed full-time study found the thought of returning to the frustrations of teaching so overwhelming that they indicated that they "could not go back."

> I decided about the middle of the second semester that I quite liked this work, that I really enjoyed the kinds of things that I was doing, and realized that that would never be possible [in teaching]. I would never be able to do this kind of work and teach full time. (7, 5)

This teacher had been prepared to return to the classroom and in fact had gone to an interview at the school where he was expected to return. He described his interview: "It was unbelievable. It was like everything else I had experienced; the decisions had already been made and we were simply going

through a bit of a process to pretend as though I had some choice in the matter" (7, 7).

The second person who couldn't go back, had entered the graduate program to enliven his teaching and assumed that a master's with a focus in teaching would send him back to the classroom rejuvenated.

> What I was looking for at that point ... is I wanted to know how and why one tree was different from another tree. What the program did was to indicate that there was a whole forest and that I didn't really know that the forest existed. I thought there were just different kinds of trees, but I didn't know about the depth and breadth of it all. And at that point I realized pretty quickly that I had been sort of living a lie ... I discovered, and I think [others] discovered it too, that we simply couldn't go back to the classrooms that we had left, because we were going back as different people. We weren't going back as upgraded teachers; we weren't going back as teachers with more strategies; we weren't going back as teachers with bigger vocabularies; we weren't going back as teachers with a publication, you know, with more initials behind our names. We were going back as different human beings. (10, 5)

He described himself later as having been "contaminated" by the program, and believed that others had been as well.

> And when they go back to the school system, you know you start reading memos and dealing with wiping kids noses and getting phone calls from parents and you just want to scream: "Don't you understand what's going on here? Think about this!" ... Then you feel guilty because you maybe learned or know something that others may or may not know, but you'll never know anyway, because you never have a chance to have a conversation with them. (10, 14-15)

Discussion

Why Graduate Study

It will be no surprise to anyone that teachers undertake graduate studies for a number of reasons and that few teachers have a single motive. The findings of this study suggest a number of conclusions about why teachers pursue graduate work.

1. Teachers who enter an MEd program are for the most part excited about learning. With few exceptions students in this study considered the process, the learning, and personal growth at least as important as, if not more important than, the particular piece of paper that resulted. Fewer than one third applied because of administrative aspirations.
2. Teaching is not seen to be an affirming profession. Even those teachers who stated that they were happy with their teaching on admission to the program commented that they needed regeneration; they needed something for themselves; they were becoming stagnant; they needed a change.
3. Graduate studies appears to be one of the few legitimate ways in which teachers can take a break from classroom teaching.

Graduate Study/Teaching Relationships

With one exception, participants in this study stated that their graduate studies had had a significant and positive impact on their beliefs about teaching and their teaching practices. It was readily apparent that the teachers were enlivened by their understanding of the whys of their activities and that it was

important to them to validate their beliefs and activities. It was also important to them to have an opportunity to think about what they were doing, to reflect on it, and to understand education in a more global sense. Many teachers spoke of the personal nature of their learning, and it was clear that when classes and projects had direct application to their classroom and their teaching they were seen to be more valuable. At least three of the respondents spoke of the impact that their gender courses had had on their lives and on their teaching. Many spoke of how the program helped them to understand themselves and how important that was to them.

There were some differences between the experiences of those who had attended the program entirely part time and those who had spent at least one year of their program in full-time study. Those who had been taking courses and teaching at the same time spoke of questioning their classroom activities, of testing and retesting the ideas presented in classes, of applying what they had learned, of clarifying their thinking. Their studies were immediately applicable and relevant (or not).

All the full-time people and approximately one third of the part-time people spoke about how the program had challenged their beliefs, about their new self-awareness, their ability to be self critical, their new understandings of the context of education and how important these new insights were. Those who had been in the program full time expounded on these notions at some length and particularly valued their nonclassroom university experiences.

The following conclusions, therefore, are supported by the findings of this study.

1. Graduate studies has a positive impact on and enlivens the way teachers think about their teaching; it affords them an opportunity to share and reflect on their thoughts and ideas; it reaffirms their practices; it challenges their beliefs and expands their understandings.
2. The more the students are able to personalize their programs the greater the perceived value of the program; that is, graduates who selected courses directly related to their interests or designed assignments directly related to their classrooms found the program to be of great value.
3. Part-time study appears to lend itself more readily to a more direct questioning of specific practice and an attempt to try out new ideas in the classroom; full-time study appears to result in greater dissatisfaction with, and questioning of, existing systems.

The Transition: Graduate Student to Practicing Professional

With respect to the transition from graduate studies to once again being a full-time professional, the findings are somewhat less encouraging. Three conclusions literally seemed to leap out, particularly from the interpretations of the interviews.

1. All graduates who had returned to full-time public school teaching, whether they had been full-time or part-time students, found the transition difficult. Unless they had moved into an administrative position where they believed they had considerably greater freedom to act, or to a position with new challenges, they were no longer content with being a classroom teacher.

2. Teachers who returned to the classroom believed that their colleagues resented their return, resented being challenged, resented the new ideas that they brought to their schools. Rather than enlivening or challenging their teaching, the new ideas seemed to be simply added frustrations.
3. It appears that a full-time graduate experience is particularly detrimental to satisfaction with teaching. The challenges, the autonomy, and the opportunity for "minds to fly" during their university experience was completely stifled on the teachers' return to their classrooms.

Common (1994), however, makes a persuasive argument that exactly the opposite is the case. She argues that it is the transition from practicing professional to graduate student that has such a tremendous impact on habitual ways of living, and that it is "the change in appellation from practitioner to student [that] represents a forfeiture of essential powers: the power to define self, to interpret context, to determine action, and to judge worth" (p. 15). Common supports her position by describing how truth is constructed in academe "within an epistemological paradigm having firm traditions and established knowledge" (p. 19), and how that march to knowledge is dated, ponderous, and prescriptive, in contrast to the professional paradigm where practical and professional knowledge is valued and change is ever-present.

However, the professional paradigm Common (1994) describes appears more typical of business, law, medicine, and engineering than it does of teaching. We would also suggest, with an obvious bias, that the academic paradigm Common describes does not characterize the University of Lethbridge Master of Education program. Therefore, we remain convinced that the following conclusions are warranted.

1. Full-time university graduate studies are relevant to teaching only in the way that a vacation is; that is, they are exciting, stimulating, and refreshing, but after a few weeks back home all that's left are the photographs; and/or
2. Schools are damaging many teachers' well-being. In order to thrive, most teachers need an opportunity to grow, to risk, to be challenged intellectually; not only do some schools not facilitate this development, they actively prevent it for at least some teachers.

These are damaging statements. One might suggest with respect to the first that this sample is atypical and that the findings would not generalize to other graduate programs. We would argue, however, that if these conclusions are true of the University of Lethbridge Master of Education program they may be even more true of other Master of Education programs. the University of Lethbridge program was designed specifically with the classroom teacher in mind and was intended to promote the concept of the master teacher. Graduates are expected to return to the classroom, and students select courses and design course assignments to complement and enhance their classroom activity. The four core courses challenge students to think more critically and broadly in the areas of curriculum, research, educational practices, and teaching and teacher development. Therefore, it is likely that if the graduates of this program feel alienated from the classroom, graduates of other programs are at least as likely to do so. This premise is being tested as the study is expanded to include the other Alberta universities.

With respect to the second observation, this study merely verifies in a particularly obvious manner what many researchers and educators have been saying since Lortie (1975) so eloquently described the issue in his book *School Teacher*.

Recommendations

The sample for this study was limited to the graduates of one university's MEd program, and the first recommendation clearly must be to further analyze the data with respect to gender, age, and experience and to expand the study to graduates of other universities. Nevertheless, our experiences and the findings of this study suggest, at least to us, some ideas that are at least worth considering.

We would suggest first, with respect to MEd programs, that:

1. *University faculty members should be visible in schools and need to use schools as a basis for their research.* This kind of activity not only encourages teachers to become graduate students and to further their education, it also allows them to maintain their excitement and continue their involvement with learning and with the university. As two graduates expressed it in describing situations in which a faculty member was doing research in their schools:

   > I really felt that although he never called it research, you felt that you were involved in generating new things in your classroom, and that enlivened the teaching, it really did ... You cannot do it by yourself, so there needs to be some sort of action research going on in school. (7, 7-8)

   > It's the forest and the trees. When we're teaching, we're right in the trees and I think the university is able to view the whole forest and I think it's important that we're able to get a view of the forest, because otherwise we'll never get out of those trees, you know. It's really important that the university keep doing this. (8, 11)

2. *Master of Education programs need to be made personal.* It is important to target master's programs to teachers' needs and to allow teachers the flexibility to identify those needs and select their courses and their activities accordingly, and as much as possible to carry out assignments and projects in actual classrooms, preferably their own. As Clark (1992) puts it, on the basis of more than 10 years of research on teacher thinking, "Experienced teachers can become designers of their own personal programmes of self-directed professional development" (p. 75).

   However, it would also appear to be important that certain courses and/or experiences be required. Almost all the graduates in this study spoke of the importance of the core. Many indicated that they would not have chosen those courses had they not been required, but that those courses were invaluable for expanding their horizons, for making them see themselves, teaching, students, and curriculum in different ways. The challenge for graduate programs will be to find the balance between personalizing each program and requiring common experiences.

3. *Master of Education program faculty should address directly with their students the issues they are likely to face when they return to their classrooms.* This suggestions did not arise from the data; rather, it was made by a number of

participants who read the study and by current students with whom the study was discussed.

Finally, we cannot resist making a couple of suggestions to schools and to teachers. The data from this study clearly identified schools as places that inhibit many teachers' growth and creativity and many teachers as less than receptive to new ideas and challenges. Therefore, we suggest that:

1. *Teachers need to be for each other.* Sarason (1993) points out that "it is paradoxical to criticize teachers and then to come up with guidelines asking teachers to change themselves" (p. 268). Nevertheless, teachers are professionals and must assume some individual responsibility for their professional development. It is not always necessary to make big changes or dream big dreams; often change begins with a small group of people trying to make a difference. This fact is well illustrated by the following graduate:

   > There are things that schools could do ... I've really come to believe that the teachers are the school. It's just that they don't think they are ... They were convinced that there wasn't time to do any of this and I simply went out there and encouraged them once in a while. We started once every two weeks to meet for an hour to talk about what we were doing, you know, and as the year went on they began to realize that you just have to say, well, after school on Wednesday we're going to do this for an hour, period ... So it was a very, very small thin, it wasn't big ... and it worked. (7, 8-9)

   One simple strategy might be to ensure that at least two teachers from a school attend graduate studies together. Much more is possible with the support of even one other person.
2. *The entire structure of schooling needs to be changed to take into account the needs of teachers to grow, to learn, and to live.* This kind of change requires exciting, innovative, and courageous leadership. Schools should be structured to take advantage of the expertise of teachers, to create opportunities for their professional development, to respect their learning, to build in time for them to continue learning, and to give their learning legitimacy. The implication here is that we need to change to way we think about teachers and teaching. Burger (1994) describes a large study in which "teachers with stories of growth said the major impetus for their continued development had been the school culture and practices which emphasized that everyone in the school was a member of a learning community" (p. 3). Clearly this is no small task and is well beyond the scope of this small study, but the data from this study support the notion that this type of change is long overdue.

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Book Review
Women's Work is Never Done: Resolving Gender Inequalities in Education

Gendered Education: Sociological Reflections on Women, Teaching and Feminism. Sandra Acker. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education Press, 1994, 193 pages.

Reviewed by *Diane G. Symbaluk, University of Alberta*

Few university students today would be surprised to find themselves in a science or medical course taught by a female instructor with predominantly female enrollment. Clearly the same cannot be said for the 1960s, 1970s, or even early 1980s when female professors were scarce and the female student minority registered mainly in sex-stereotyped courses. Women were encouraged to take courses in elementary education or family studies and were discouraged from enrolling in masculine subjects like engineering or business management. Despite the fact that women today enjoy more academic freedom in what Fulton (1993) describes as the "decade of the woman student," double standards persist and prevent women from achieving equal status with men in virtually all spheres of life.

Gendered Education examines women's progress in education over the last 30 years. The emphasis is on the continuity of women's inferior status as students and academics despite advances procured since the second wave of feminism in the 1960s. Acker recalls her own experiences and the political climate of the late 1960s and early 1970s that contributed to her research on gender issues. These recollections help the reader understand why women continue to have low academic aspirations and why they obtain so few doctorates relative to men. Critical themes of the book include the neglect of women in higher education, advances in feminist theory and research, and the implications of gender biases for teaching and women's advancement in academics.

Acker's account begins with a personal description of life as an undergraduate and graduate student in the female-resistant educational system of Britain at that time. My interest was piqued by parallels I was able to draw between Acker's experience in Britain and my own experience as a female graduate student in Canada some 20 years later.

I was impressed by Acker's recollection of her aspirations as a new graduate student in sociology as well as her awareness of how her views changed with her progress in the educational system (Chapter 1). Acker describes the discovery of sociology as "a revelation ... a means of making the world better for its less fortunate inhabitants." The revelation inspired her to go on to pursue a master's degree in education studying the socially disadvantaged. Acker explains how her experience altered her plans to return home to teach after obtaining a master's degree:

> My original ambition was completely outside the department's preferences and snobberies, into which I was gradually induced: greater prestige derived from theorizing about educational systems and abstract schools than from going into real ones ... it was better to do a doctorate and enter academic life than to stop with the delightfully dubbed "terminal masters." (p. 13)

Accepting the inevitable, Acker went on to obtain a doctorate, researching how other graduate students absorbed the same "academic ideology." Distinct from the original focus of her analysis, Acker discovered a common theme in women's interview responses that was not evident in statements made by men. Specifically, women had relatively low academic aspirations and seldom viewed themselves outside of sex-stereotyped career ambitions (e.g., elementary school teacher, nurse, librarian).

Acker holds the educational system responsible for gender-biased views in its blatant neglect of women in the sociology of education prior to the 1980s. This issue is covered in detail in Chapter 2, which is appropriately titled "No Woman's Land." The chapter includes highlights from Acker's (1981) research on gender issues in major sociological journals over a 20-year period. Because men are more likely to occupy high-prestige positions in society, their work is considered important whereas women's is viewed as inconsequential. As a result of these assumptions, researchers have studied male-dominated professions almost exclusively.

> Researchers could have studied the educational and occupational socialization of hairdressers just as easily as that of printing apprentices. Or the social and educational backgrounds of nurses or social workers or actresses. Or the workings of university departments of French or technical college departments of catering. Or the role of further education in mobility chances of working-class girls. But no-one did. (p. 31)

One implication of male-biased research sampling is that findings for studies based on all-male samples may not be the same as results obtained using women. Acker claims this point is ignored by most researchers in education, who either exclude women from their research samples altogether or fail to interpret findings for female samples when they are included along with results obtained for males.

Feminist writers in other disciplines have also pointed to problems associated with male-biased sampling. For example, feminists have criticized criminology theory and research for its use of all-male samples (Naffine, 1987), and overreliance on concepts and results that are gender-specific (Chesney-Lind, 1989). For example, items used to measure delinquency (e.g., number of acts of assault or vandalism) are more characteristic of males than females. In contrast, girls commit more status offenses (e.g., running away from home or curfew violation) but these behaviors are not considered delinquent acts.

Although feminist ideology is starting to permeate criminology, Acker notes that gender issues are still not an integral part of the sociology of education. Instead, gender issues remain almost the exclusive concern of women in education, and more specifically feminist scholars. Importantly, Acker points out how gender issues are problematic even for female academics who study them.

> It is just as difficult for a feminist academic to know to what extent the reception accorded to her work or the response to her teaching is related to her politics, her gender, or some other feature of her background, demeanor or ability, or whether is resides in the politics and practices of the institution, or even the culture and political economy of the society. (p. 70).

Acker claims that a feminist approach will increase the salience of gender issues and may resolve some of the problems associated with biased sampling and sex differences in educational research. She provides a list of "tasks" for a feminist approach to the sociology of education. One is to reinterpret previous research (where possible) to include a discussion of results on women and an explanation for any inconsistencies in findings for females relative to males.

Chapters 3 and 4 outline the major contributions and limitations of various feminist approaches to gender issues and discuss some of the current debates. One issue is whether research by a feminist scholar always constitutes feminist research. In this regard Acker points to the dangers of rigid inclusion criteria claiming that "as feminist scholarship becomes increasingly institutionalized, there is a tendency for it to develop its own rituals and practices of exclusion" (p. 69). She suggests that feminist scholarship would benefit more from an assessment of what such research contributes to the advancement of knowledge than from a concern with what does nor does not constitute feminist research.

The second part of this book focuses on the marginality of women as teachers. The chapters in this section examine why teaching is viewed as a "semi-profession" (Chapter 5), why the educational system is reluctant to adopt "anti-sexist initiatives" (Chapter 6), and how gender is implicated in the career structures of teachers (Chapter 7). Acker suggests that teaching is considered a semi-profession because it is dominated by women who are still viewed as the subordinate sex.

Acker clarifies this contention in Chapter 5, providing evidence that female-based majorities are largely restricted to elementary and junior grades with women becoming increasingly scarce as the age of students increases or the prestige of the teaching position increases. Although a great deal of sociological research is directed at the implications of gender for education and teacher careers, Acker suggests that much of this literature suffers from major flaws including an overreliance on blame-the-victim approaches and an inability to view women outside of familial roles: "Such approaches are one-sided, placing the emphasis on the individual woman as 'actor' with little or no attempt to assess the structures within which action takes place" (p. 87).

In other words, few studies examine how the social structure of education determines women's roles as teachers. For example, Acker claims that research on female teachers' favoritism toward male students would benefit from an analysis of effects of colleague and department heads' expectations on teachers' attitudes and behaviors.

In addition to shortcomings in research on gender issues, Acker claims that even when "gender-equal initiatives" exist, teachers are reluctant to incorporate them into their classrooms (Chapter 6). She goes on to outline four factors that contribute to this resistance including implementation issues, teacher demographics, teacher ideology, and teacher work conditions. Im-

plementation issues, for example, may consist of a lack of awareness on the part of individual teachers who seldom read academic journals that contain gender-neutral initiatives; it can also include a lack of communication between teachers with similar interests in the same school or from other schools. Communication of gender-neutral practices is an important consideration and "the cost of implementing anti-sexist innovations will decrease when it becomes clearer what they are and how one goes about putting them in practice" (p. 103).

Chapter 7 describes teacher career structures in England and Wales for 1990. The purpose of this chapter is to outline teaching as a career from both social-structural (macro) and individual (micro) perspectives. Using a macro-sociological perspective, Acker provides a breakdown of the percentage of teachers and teaching heads who are women as well as the distribution of male and female teachers by grade level. Through interviews with teachers in two primary schools she also provides a micro-sociological analysis of teaching based on subjective interpretations of the profession as well as expectations and feelings of marginality among female teachers.

Part 3 focuses on the professional experiences of female academics who are often "double-burdened" with career and family commitments. In addition, these women hold a "minority position" among faculty members, and this marginal status has implications for achievement, role responsibilities, and interactions with other colleagues.

For example, Chapter 8 points out that women's academic achievements are thwarted largely as a function of time restraints resulting from unsuccessful attempts to juggle research commitments with extracareer responsibilities related to raising a family. Chapter 9 provides an in-depth analysis of the status and role of female academics in British universities. This chapter examines explanations for women's low academic standing (e.g., early socialization and conflicting role responsibilities) and includes strategies for improvement that follow from radical and liberal feminist approaches.

Acker concludes by noting how some aspects of the educational system have undergone drastic changes over the last 20 years, but these changes were slow to occur and many years passed before improvements were detected. Consequently, many gender issues are still not resolved (Chapter 10). There are far greater numbers of female academics in universities throughout the world and women are increasingly enrolling in traditionally male-dominated courses such as engineering or business management. Importantly, many of these women have been awarded research grants or scholarships for outstanding work in their fields, and some have gone on to pursue doctorates. As a result, we are seeing more female graduate students and more female professors.

In spite of these considerations, the number of tenured female academics still lags. Similarly, although many women are publishing their research in journals, relatively few are invited to write edited collections. I question Acker's suggestion that these observations are signs that qualified women are still being excluded from academic circles, and would be more apt to conclude that women still have lower aspirations relative to men, with fewer women seeking to obtain tenure or expressing an interest in publishing edited books. Despite educational advances in the form of acknowledgment for work or

policies concerning equal pay, female academics are still both at an economic and status disadvantage relative to men.

I commend Acker for addressing issues that are especially problematic for female academics including the timing of marriage and families. The decision to have children has implications for the academic careers of female students in their childbearing years. Academic choices will in part be influenced by commitments to motherhood and may include postponements or interruptions in programs as well as lowered educational aspirations (Chapter 7). Although female academics beyond their childbearing years appear free to pursue academic careers, they often have outside employment or children at home. In reality these women are overburdened with responsibilities including domestic tasks that impede their professional careers (Chapter 8).

Although recognizing that women may opt not to have children early on, Acker assumes these women are merely postponing childbirth until they have completed their postsecondary education. This assumption is evident in her statement that childbearing will occur at a time when expectations for occupational performance are high (Chapter 8). The author leaves out one category of female academics, those who forgo childbirth altogether in order to obtain a degree and secure an academic career in a highly competitive job market.

I contend that childless women, as a subgroup of the female population, may experience greater marginality than women in general. Greater marginality occurs because childless women (of childbearing years) break with traditional norms for women in our society; women are expected to marry and become mothers shortly thereafter. These assumptions can have implications both for securing a tenure-track position at a prestigious university and for exacerbating marginality in relations with colleagues. Employers may be reluctant to hire childless women because they anticipate interruptions as a result of childbirth. Also, childless women do not share common experiences with men or with women who are mothers, and this issue merits further exploration.

Gendered Education is an interesting, witty, and educational look at gender issues. Although materials included in this book are largely based on studies conducted in the United Kingdom or reported in British journals, the information is representative of what occurs in other industrialized countries and would, therefore, be of interest to people outside Britain. A variety of audiences can benefit from reading this book, but it is of more immediate relevance to postsecondary students and academics in sociology, education, or women's studies.

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